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O D E S
O F
P I N D A R,

With several other
Pieces in Prose and Verse,
Translated from the GREEK.

To which is added

A DISSERTATION
ON THE
OLYMPICK GAMES.

THE SECOND EDITION.

By GILBERT WEST, Esq. LL.D.

*Res antiquæ Laudis et Artis
Ingredior, sanctos ausus recludere Fontes. VIRG. Geo. L. ii.*

V O L. II.

L O N D O N,
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Dissertation on the Olympick Games.

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

Olympick Games.

— *Pulverem Olympicum*
Collegisse juvat. Hor.

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VOL. II.

A

THE HISTORY OF THE

DISSEMINATION

OF THE

GOVERNMENT OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

JOHN C. CALHOUN

OF THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE

ON THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY 1846

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A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

OLYMPICK GAMES.

SECTION I.

Of the Original of the Olympick Games.

THE Vanity of the *Grecians* in magnifying their Antiquities is remarkable in every Part of their History. There was scarce a considerable Town, or Family of any Note, that did not boast itself descended from some God, and shew a Pedigree deduced from the earliest Ages of the World. This fabulous and extravagant Nobility served for a common Topick of Flattery among all their Poets, not to add Orators and Historians: too many Instances of which are to be met with in the Odes of *Pindar*.

It is no wonder then, if in the Accounts of their religious Institutions we meet with the same Mixture of Fable, the same Pretensions to Antiquity, and an Original derived some way or other from the Gods. Their Deities were born in the fabulous Age, and had taken Possession

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session of all *Greece* long before the Birth either of History or Chronology ; which did not come in use 'till some time after the Restitution of the *Olympick* Games by *Iphitus* the *Elean*.

Whoever, therefore, would make an Inquiry into the Original Establishment of these Games, must be contented with such an Account of it, as was either invented or received by the *Eleans*, in whose Territory, and under whose Direction they were celebrated ; an Account made up of Fables and Traditions.

And indeed the *Eleans* are of all People the most to be excused for mingling Fables with their Accounts of an Institution, that is universally acknowledged to have subsisted before the Use of Chronological Dates and Records: the first Example of which they themselves gave in the Register of the *Olympick* Conquerours, which they began to keep soon after the Restoration of those Games ; and by the Invention of which they have made a sufficient Expiation, not for themselves alone, but for all their Countrymen. For if they have given us Fable and Tradition, where we might have expected History, they have in Return helped us to the Means of distinguishing thenceforward between one and the other; and of having Truth and History, where we could otherwise hope to have met with nothing but Fable and Imposture.

Let them then be indulged in a Vanity, which they have in common with all the Nations of the World, both ancient and modern ; and in which they were flattered and

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and encouraged not a little by the great Reputation of the *Olympick Games*. For, to say Truth, the Sanctity and Solemnity of that Festival; the Majesty and Supremacy of the God to whom it was dedicated; and the great Value set upon the *Olympick Crowns*, by the unanimous Consent of all *Greece*, were Arguments sufficient to have induced even the most scrupulous Historian to receive a Tradition, or adopt a Fable, that furnished him with a Founder, worthy of so sacred and august an Institution.

Accordingly, the greatest and most venerable Personages of Antiquity [1], the *Idæan Hercules*, *Clymenus*, *Endymion*, *Palops*, and *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, have been severally introduced as the Inventors or Revivers of these Games; and, to support their different Pretensions, Reasons have been sought for, and Arguments produced from among the Religious Rites and Ceremonies, the Laws and Customs of this Solemnity. Thus *Pausanias* [2], for example, tells us, that these Games were ordered to be celebrated every *Five Years*, because the Brothers, called the *Idæi Dactyli*, of whom the *Idæan Hercules* was the elder, were *Five* in Number; to whom in particular, as also to his Four Brethren, an Altar was consecrated at *Olympia*, by *Clymenus*, who was descended from this *Hercules*, and is said to have celebrated these Games Fifty Years after the Deluge of *Deucalion*. The Term *Athleta* (a Name signifying those who contended for the Prize, called also *Atklon*) is by others derived from *Aethlius* the Father

[1] *Pauf.* l. v. [2] *Ibid.*

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of *Endymion* [3], who, as well as his Sons, is reckoned among the Founders of this Festival. And as for *Pelops*, that Herowas held in such high Veneration at *Olympia* [4], that the *Eleans* in their Sacrifices gave him the Preference, even before *Jupiter* himself; for which they alledged the Practice of *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*; to whose Labours also, as *Pindar* informs [5] us, they were indebted for their Olive-Crown.

But not contented with a Founder, who was mortal by his Mother's Side [6], the *Eleans* have carried their Antiquities still higher, and name for the Authors of these Games *Jupiter* and *Saturn*; who, as they pretend, in the very Place where these Games were afterwards celebrated, wrestled with each other for the Empire of the World.

Others affirm, that they were instituted by *Jupiter*, in Commemoration of his Victory over the *Titans*; and that *Apollo* in particular signalized himself, by gaining two Victories; one over *Mercury* in the Foot-Race, and another over *Mars* in the Combat of the *Cæstus*. And this, say they, is the Reason that the Exercise of [7] *Leaping* (one of the Five Exercises of the *Pentatblon*) is always accompanied with Flutes playing *Pythian* Airs; because those Airs are consecrated to *Apollo*, and because *Apollo* gained two Victories in the *Olympick* Games.

In this Account we may observe History (for there is something of historical Truth at the Bottom of all these

[3] Euseb. Chron.

[4] Schol. ad Pind. Olymp. Od. 1.

[5] Olymp. Ode 3.

[6] Paus. 1. v.

[7] Ibid.

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Traditions) swelling by degrees, and growing insensibly into Fable; 'till by a Progress, like that of *Fame* in *Virgil* [8], its Bulk becomes too big for Truth and Probability, and reaching at length from Earth to Heaven, it there totally disappears, lost and confounded, with the rest of the Antiquities of *Greece*, in the Clouds of Mythology and Superstition.

It is needless to mention the Names of several other Heroes of those early Ages, who, by different Authors, are said to have celebrated these Games. The last of these was *Oxylus*, who came into the *Peloponnesus* with the *Heraclides* [9]. After whom followed so long an Intermission of that Solemnity, that the Memory of it was almost lost.

The Occasions of celebrating the *Olympick* Games seem to have been various. Sir *Isaac Newton* is of Opinion [1], "That they were originally celebrated in Triumph for "Victories; first by *Hercules Idæus* upon the Conquest of "Saturn and the *Titans*; and then by *Clymenus* upon his "coming to reign in the *Terra Curetum*; then by *Endymion* "upon his conquering *Clymenus*; and afterwards by "Pelops upon his conquering *Ætolus*; and by *Hercules* upon "his killing *Augeas*; and by *Atreus* upon his repelling the "*Heraclides*; and by *Oxylus* upon the Return of the *Heraclides* into *Peloponnesus*." This Opinion may be very well supported out of ancient Authors. *Pindar* expressly tells us, in his Second *Olympick* Ode, that *Hercules* instituted this Festival to *Jupiter*, on occasion of the Victory he ob-

[8] *Æneid*, iv.

[9] *Paus.* l. v.
A 4

[1] *Chron.* p. 156.
tained

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tained over *Augeas*. But the Oracle delivered to the *Peloponnesians*, at the Restitution of these Games by *Iphitus*, says, they were celebrated first by *Pifus* in Honour of *Jupiter* [2]; then by *Pelops* twice; first, upon his coming to settle in *Greece*, and a second Time at the Funeral of *Oenomaüs*; and after him by *Hercules* in Memory of *Pelops* [3]; at whose Death likewise, as *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, they had before been celebrated as Funeral-Games by his Son *Atreus*; upon which Occasion, says the same Author, *Hercules* came off Victor in all the Exercises. And indeed this Account of the Occasion of celebrating the *Olympick* Games, is very agreeable to a Custom, which, as we learn from *Homer*, *Pindar*, and all the *Greek* Writers, prevailed very much in those Heroick Ages. Games, with Prizes for the Conquerours, were the usual Compliment, and made up the greatest Part of the Ceremony at the Funeral of every Person of Note and Quality. The Expence of these Games was sometimes borne by the Relations and Friends of the Deceased, as we may see by the Example of *Achilles*, who out of his own Treasures gave the Prizes, and those of no inconsiderable Value, to the Conquerours in the Games, by him celebrated at the Funeral of *Patroclus*. Sometimes the Funeral was at the Appointment of the Publick; and an anniversary Solemnization of Games was enacted in honour of the Deceased; such were those instituted by a [4] Decree of the

[2] Phlegon.

[3] L. i. c. 8.

[4] Plut. in Timol.

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Syracusians, as a perpetual Memorial of the godlike Virtues of *Timoleon* their Deliverer and Legislator.

To one or other, therefore, of these Customs, in all likelihood, was owing the Original of the *Olympick* Games; as also of those celebrated at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, at *Delphi*, *Nemea*, and indeed in every considerable Town throughout all *Greece*. It is not so easy to assign a Reason how those celebrated at *Olympia* came to have the Rank and Precedency of all the other; some of which were dedicated to the same God, and could boast as venerable, and as ancient a Foundation. But whatever may have been the Reason of this Preference, all the People of *Greece* acquiesced in it, and agreed to bestow the first Honours upon the *Olympick* Conquerours [5].

It cannot, however, I think, be pretended, that these Games were in any very great Estimation before the Time of their Restitution by *Iphitus*. This may very fairly be concluded as well from the Diversity and Uncertainty of the Accounts concerning the Original and Authors of them, as from the Silence of *Homer*, who in the Catalogue of the Ships (where he takes occasion to inform the Reader of the Name and Situation of the principal Towns of *Greece*) makes no mention of *Olympia*; nor when he speaks of *Elis*, and the River *Alpheus*, as he doth in many Parts both of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, does he give the least Hint of the *Olympick* Games; tho' we are told by other Authors that they were celebrated by

[5] See Strabo, l. viii.

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Pelops the Grandfather, and afterwards in his Honour by *Atreus* the Father of *Agamemnon*. *Homer*, besides, makes frequent mention of Games, and particularly at the Funeral of *Patroclus*, introduces his greatest Heroes contending in the very same kind of Exercises, with those practised in the Stadium of *Olympia*: upon which occasion, had the *Olympick* Games been then in such Estimation, as they are said to have been, one may believe he would not have failed making some mention of them; as well to render more illustrious the Majesty of *Agamemnon*, the General of the *Greeks*, whose Grandfather *Pelops* was worshipped equally with *Jupiter* at that Solemnity, as to shew from so great and august a Precedent the high Value of the Honours paid by *Achilles* to his Friend.

SECTION II.

Of the Restitution of the Olympick Games.

IPHITUS, King of *Elis*, is by all Authors said to have restored the *Olympick* Games: which is not precisely true in any sense. For if by the *Olympick* Games be understood the Religious Policy and Ordinances of that Festival; the general Armistice or Truce that always accompanied its Solemnization; the publick Mart [1] or Fair then held for the Benefit of Commerce; and the Period of *Four Years* called the *Olympiad*: All these he cannot so properly be said to have restored, as to have been the first Author and Institutor of them. For of most of

[1] Vell. Pat. l. i. cap. 8.

these

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these Things there is no Mention before his Time. Besides, allowing it to be true, that there were Games celebrated at *Olympia*, even so far back as the Golden Age, and that there was a Temple and Sacrifices of the same Date to *Jupiter Olympius*; it does not appear any where, as I remember, that all the *Greeks* were concerned in those Sacrifices, or invited to partake in those Games. It should seem, on the contrary, by what has been said above, that they were celebrated at unequal Distances of Time, on private and particular Occasions, and in Compliance rather with Fashion and Custom, than in Obedience to an Ordinance, that required their Solemnization at certain and stated Periods. If by the *Olympick Games* be meant what is more generally understood by those Words, the Gymnastick Combats and Horse-Races exhibited in the *Stadium* at *Olympia*, he cannot be said to have restored the *Olympick Games*. For [2] *Pausanias* tells us, that he restored only the Foot-Race; the other Exercises were afterwards added by the Authority of the *Eleans*, according as they discovered or recollected what had formerly been practised in that Solemnity.

But *Iphitus* indeed may with great Justice be styled the Founder of the *Olympick Games*. For he seems to have been the first that reduced that Festival into a regular and coherent System or Form; united the Sacred and Political Institutions; and gave it, by the Establishment of the *Olympiad*, that Principle of Life and Duration, as enabled

[2] L. v.

it to outlive the Laws and Customs, the Liberty, and almost the Religion of *Greece*.

The Occasion of the Re-establishment of the *Olympick Games* was as follows:

Greece at that Time being torn in Pieces by Civil Wars [3], and wasted by a Pestilence, [4] *Iphitus*, one of the Descendants of *Hercules*, Grandson of *Oxylus*, and King of *Elis*, concerned at the Calamities, under which his Country then laboured, had Recourse to the Oracle at *Delphi*, for a Remedy to those Evils; and was told by the *Pythonefs*, that the Safety of *Greece* depended upon the Re-establishment of the *Olympick Games*; the Non-observance of which Solemnity had, as she told them, drawn down the Indignation of the God to whom it was dedicated; and of *Hercules*, the Hero by whom it was instituted. She ordered him therefore, in Conjunction with the People of *Elis*, to set about restoring the Celebration of that Festival, and to proclaim a Truce or Cessation of Arms to all those Cities, who were desirous of partaking

[3] Pauſ. l. v. Phlegon. Euseb. Chron.

[4] In the Fragment of *Phlegon* (from whence the greatest Part of the following Account is taken) *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, and one *Cleosthenes* of *Pisa*, are joined with *Iphitus* in restoring the *Olympick Games*. That this Account, which makes *Lycurgus* Cotemporary with *Iphitus*, cannot be reconciled with Chronology, the Reader may see in Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology, even admitting, what seems to be intimated by *Phlegon*, that there were two Kings of *Elis* named *Iphitus*, between whom the same Author reckons twenty eight Olympiads to have passed, during which Time the Solemnization of the *Olympick Games* was intermitted — But of this more hereafter.

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in the Games [5]. The other People of the *Peloponnesus*, whether jealous of the Pre-eminence claimed by the *Eleans* on this Occasion, or from a Spirit of Discord and Dissension, refusing to comply, sent a common Deputation to *Delphi*, ordering their Deputies to interrogate the Deity very strictly concerning the Oracle lately reported to them: but the Priestess, ever ready to authorize the Schemes of Kings and Legislators, adhered to her former Answer; and commanded them to submit to the Directions and Authority of the *Eleans* in the ordering and establishing the ancient Laws and Customs of their Forefathers. The *Peloponnesians* then submitted, and allowed the People of *Elis* to hold their Festival, and proclaim a general Cessation of Arms. Thus were the *Olympick* Games established by the Authority of *Iphitus*, King of *Elis*, under the Direction of the *Delphick* Oracle, Seven hundred and Seventy six Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and Nineteen or Twenty before the Building of *Rome*, according to the common Chronology, but One hundred Forty nine according to Sir *Isaac Newton*. See *Newton's Chron.* p. 37, 38.

In this Institution there are three Things to be considered: First, The Religious Ceremonies: Secondly, The Period or Cycle of Four Years, called the *Olympiad*: And Thirdly, the Games, comprehending the Equestrian and Gymnaſtick Exercises. Of each of which I propose to give as full and particular an Account, as I have been

[5] Phlegon.

able

able to collect from the imperfect Relations of *Pausanias* (who yet is more copious on these Subjects than any other ancient Author) or from the short, and oftentimes obscure Hints and Allusions scattered up and down the Works of almost all the *Greek* Writers, as well in Prose as in Verse.

SECTION III.

Of the Religious Ceremonies.

GREECE indeed (says [1] *Pausanias*) abounds with Spectacles, which even in Description cannot fail of exciting our Admiration; yet (continues he) there is no one Solemnity among all these, transacted with so much religious Pomp and Care as the *Eleusinian* Mysteries and the *Olympick* Games. But as neither *Pausanias*, nor any other ancient Writer now extant, hath thought fit to give us a compleat and circumstantial Account of the several Rites and Ceremonies observed on these solemn Festivals, (some of which, especially those in the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, all the *Grecians* held it unlawfull to divulge) we can only frame to ourselves a general Idea of the Splendor and Magnificence, with which they were performed, by taking a View of the Temples, Statues, &c. of the Deities to whom they were consecrated. Those of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, which alone relate to my present Subject, are thus described by *Pausanias*, in the Fifth Book of his Journey through *Greece*.

[1] Lib. v.

“ The

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“ The Temple of *Jupiter* (says he) is erected on a consecrated Piece of Ground, called the *Altis*, an antique Word, appropriated to this sacred Inclosure, and made use of by *Pindar* [2], who tells us, that this hallowed Area was set apart and dedicated to *Jupiter* by *Hercules* himself. The Temple is built in the *Dorick* Order, and surrounded on the Outside with a *Peristyle* or Colonnade. The whole Edifice is composed of a beautiful Sort of Marble [3] found in that Country. Its Height to the Roof is Sixty eight Feet, its Breadth Ninety five, and its Length Two hundred and thirty. The Architect was *Libon*, a Native of that Country. This Temple is not covered with Earthen Tiles burnt, but with Marble brought from Mount *Pentelicus* (near *Athens*) and [4] cut in the Form of Tiles. On each Corner of

[2] *Olymp. Od. 10.*

[3] Of this Stone or Marble called *Porus*, *Theophrastus*, and *Pliny* after him, informs us, that it resembled *Parian* Marble in Colour and Hardness, but was not so heavy.

[4] The Art of cutting Marble into Tiles was so extraordinary, that *Byza* of *Naxos*, who first invented it, thought proper to perpetuate the Honour of his Invention by an Inscription, which may be seen in *Pausanias*.

The famous Temple of *Minerva* at *Athens* seems, by *Wheeler's* Description of it, to have resembled this in so many Particulars, that we may, by reading that Description, be enabled more clearly to understand this given by *Pausanias* of the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*. They were both probably built about the same Time, and each of them adorned with a Statue made by the same admirable Artist. *Wheeler* says, that the Height of the Columns, which run round the Temple of *Minerva*, were Forty two Feet, whence by the Rules of Architecture some Judgment may be formed of the whole Height of that Temple,

“ the

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“ the Roof is placed a gilded Vase, and on the Top of
 “ the Pediment a Statue of *Victory*, gilded likewise, un-
 “ der which is hung up a Golden Shield, with the Figure
 “ of the Gorgon *Medusa* carved upon it. The Inscription
 “ on the Shield imports it to have been a Gift of the
 “ *Tanagrans*, who being in Alliance with the *Lacedæmo-*
 “ *nians*, and having obtained a Victory over the *Argives*
 “ and *Athenians* near *Tanagra*, had consecrated the Tenth
 “ of the Spoils to *Jupiter Olympius*. On the Cornice,
 “ which runs round the Temple on the Outside over the
 “ Columns, are hung One and twenty Gilt Shields, a Pre-
 “ sent of *Mummius* the *Roman* General, who conquered
 “ the *Achaïans*, and took and destroyed *Corinth*.

“ In the Front-Pediment is a Piece of Sculpture,
 “ whose Subject is the Contest between *Oenomaüs* and
 “ *Pelops* in the Chariot-Race: Each of whom is repre-
 “ sented as ready and just upon the Point of entering on
 “ the Course. In the Middle is a Figure of *Jupiter*; on
 “ his Right Hand stands *Oenomaüs*, with a Helmet on
 “ his Head, and near him his Wife *Sterope*, one of the
 “ Daughters of *Atlas*. Before the Horses, which are
 “ Four in Number, appears *Myrtilus*, the Charioteer of
 “ *Oenomaüs*, and behind him stand two other Men,
 “ who [5], though their Names are not inscribed, seem to

and perhaps some probable Conjecture of the Height of this, which
Pausanias says was Sixty eight Feet, but whether to the Top or the
 Bottom of the Pediment I leave the Learned to determine.

[5] It appears from this Passage, and some others in *Pausanias*, that
 the ancient *Greeks*, among whom the Arts of Statuary and Painting,
 be

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“ be two Grooms attending on the Horses of *Oenomaüs*.
 “ In the Corner of the Pediment is represented the *Clau-*
 “ *deus*, a River which next to the *Alpheus* is held in the
 “ greatest Honour by the *Eleans*. On the Left Hand of
 “ *Jupiter* stand *Pelops* and *Hippodamia*, the Charioteer of
 “ *Pelops*, his Horses and Two Grooms, and in the Angle
 “ is figured the River *Alpheus*. This whole Piece of
 “ Sculpture is the Workmanship of *Pæonius* of *Menda*, a
 “ City of *Thrace*; but that in the Pediment of the Back-
 “ Front was done by *Acalmenes*, who lived in the Time
 “ of *Phidias*, and was second to him alone in Art and
 “ Genius. In this Pediment is represented the Battle
 “ of the *Centaurs* and the *Lapithæ* at the Marriage of
 “ *Pirithous*. In the Middle of the Piece stands *Piri-*
 “ *thous*; near him, on one Side, appears *Eurytion* carrying
 “ off the Bride, and *Cæneus* coming to the Assistance of
 “ *Pirithous*: On the other Side *Theseus* with his Battle-axe
 “ combating the *Centaurs*. Among the *Centaurs* is one
 “ represented running away with a young Virgin, and
 “ another carrying off a beautiful Boy. This Subject, as

at least the former, were carried to a Perfection not yet equalled by the
 Moderns, thought it no Disgrace to the finest Performances in each of
 those Kinds, to add the Names under the several Figures, or a general
 Inscription explaining the Subject, and pointing out the principal Per-
 sonages therein represented. Whether this was any real Disfigurement
 to those admirable Works, I will not take upon me to determine; but
 it certainly was of use, especially in Historical Pieces, intended to de-
 liver down to Posterity the Memory of any great Action, and the chief
 Persons concerned in it. *Pausanias* himself, who seems to have been a
 very learned Antiquarian, found the Advantage of those little expla-
 natory Inscriptions in many Instances, as might easily be shewn.

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" I imagine, was chosen by *Acalmenes*, because *Pirithous*,
 " as he had learned from *Homer*, was the Son of *Jupiter*;
 " and *Theseus* was the fourth in Descent from *Pelops*.
 " Over the Gates of the Temple in like manner are ex-
 " hibited most of the Labours of *Hercules*, as the Hunting
 " of the *Erymanthian* Boar, the Story of the *Thracian*
 " *Diomedes*, and of *Geryon*. In one Piece *Hercules* is re-
 " presented as going to ease *Atlas* of his Burden, and in
 " another as cleansing the Stable of *Augeas*. Over the
 " Gates on the Back Part of the Temple the same Hero
 " is seen fighting with an *Amazon*, from whom he tears
 " away her Belt: there also are figured the Stories of the
 " Hind, of the *Gnosian* Bull, the *Lernaean* Hydra, the
 " *Stymphalian* Birds, and the *Nemean* Lion.

" As you enter into the Temple through the Brazen
 " Gates, you perceive on your Right Hand, standing be-
 " fore a Column, a Statue of *Iphitus* and his Wife *Ece-
 " chiria*, who is putting a Crown on the Head of her
 " Husband. In the Inside of the Temple also are Ranges
 " of Columns, which form Porticos (or Isles) of a great
 " Height; between which you pass on to the Statue of
 " *Olympian Jupiter*. There is also a winding Stair-case
 " leading up to the Roof.

" The Statue of the God, which is composed of Gold
 " and Ivory, is seated on a Throne, with a Crown upon
 " his Head, resembling the Leaves and Branches of a
 " wild Olive. In his Right Hand he bears a Statue of
 " Victory composed likewise of Ivory and Gold, holding
 " in

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“ in her Hand a sacred Fillet or Diadem, and wearing a
 “ Crown upon her Head. In his Left Hand is a Sceptre
 “ of exquisite Beauty, inlaid with all Sorts of Metals,
 “ and bearing an Eagle perched upon it. The Sandals
 “ of the God, as also his Robe, are of Gold. The lat-
 “ ter wrought over with all Sorts of Animals and Flowers,
 “ particularly Lilies. The Throne is diversified with
 “ Gold and precious Stones, with Ebony and Ivory, and
 “ painted with the Representations of divers kinds of
 “ Animals. About it also are many Figures in Sculp-
 “ ture; four Victories, for Instance, in the Attitude of
 “ Dancers, round the upper Part of each Leg of the
 “ Throne, and two more at each of the Feet. On those
 “ Legs also which support the Fore-part of the Throne
 “ are carved *Sphinxes* devouring the *Theban* Children, and
 “ under the *Sphinxes*, *Apollo* and *Diana* slaying with their
 “ Arrows the Children of *Niobe*. Between the Legs of
 “ the Throne run four Pieces, in the Nature of Braces.
 “ Upon that which fronts the Entrance are seven Figures;
 “ the eighth by some unknown Accident has disappeared.
 “ Those Figures exhibit a Representation of such Exer-
 “ cises as were practised of old in the *Olympick* [6] Games,
 “ before Boys were admitted to contend in them. Tra-
 “ dition, however, informs us, that the Figure, which is
 “ binding its Head with a Fillet or Diadem, resembled

[6] In the Original there is some Error, which can only be corrected
 by a good Manuscript. I have given what I take to be the Author's
 Meaning.

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“ *Pantarcus*, an *Elean* Boy, with whom *Phidias* was en-
 “ amoured, and who, in the Class of Boys, gained the
 “ Wrestler’s Crown in the Eighty sixth *Olympiad*. On
 “ the other Braces is represented *Hercules* with his Band
 “ of Warriors fighting against the *Amazons*. The Num-
 “ ber of Figures in both Groups is Twenty nine: *Theseus*
 “ is placed among the Assistants of *Hercules*. The Throne,
 “ besides its own proper Legs, is supported likewise by
 “ four Columns, of an equal Height with the Legs, and
 “ placed between them. No one is permitted to go un-
 “ der the Throne, to view it in the Inside, as is allowed
 “ at *Amyclæ*, where I had Liberty to view the Inside of
 “ *Apollo’s* Throne. But at *Olympia* the Throne of *Ju-*
 “ *piter* is inclosed by a kind of Wall, on purpose to keep
 “ the Spectators at a distance. That Part of the Wall,
 “ which faces the Gates of the Temple, is stained with
 “ one Colour only, namely, a Sky-blue; the other Parts
 “ are painted by *Panæus*, who in one Piece hath repre-
 “ sented *Atlas* bearing up the Heavens, and *Hercules*
 “ standing by, and offering to ease him of his Load: in
 “ others are seen *Theseus*, and *Pirithous*; a Figure of
 “ *Greece*, and another of *Salamis*, holding in her Hand
 “ one of those Ornaments that are usually placed either
 “ on the Head or Stern of a Ship. In others are repre-
 “ sented the Combat of *Hercules* with the *Nemean* Lion;
 “ the Violence offered by *Ajax* to *Cassandra*; *Hippodamia*
 “ the Daughter of *Oenomaüs*, together with her Mother;
 “ and *Prometheus* bound down with Chains, and *Hercules*
 “ look-

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ing on him. For *Hercules*, among the other Exploits attributed to him, is reported to have released *Prometheus* from his Bonds, and to have killed the Eagle, which was sent to punish him on Mount *Caucasus*, where he lay bound. The last Piece presents *Penthesilea* giving up the ghost, and *Achilles* supporting her; and two of the *Hesperides*, bringing some of the Golden Apples, which were committed to their Custody.

This *Panaenus* was the Brother of *Phidias*, and the same, who at *Athens*, in the Portico called *Pæcile*, painted the Action of *Marathon*.

On the upper Part of the Throne, over the Head of *Jupiter*, *Phidias* has placed on one Side the Graces; and the Hours (or Seasons) on the other; each Three in Number, and alike Daughters of *Jupiter*, according to the Poets. The Footstool of the God is adorned with golden Lions, and a Representation of the Battle between *Theseus* and the *Amazons*; the first Exploit of the *Athenians* against a foreign Enemy. The Basis, or Pedestal, which sustains the whole Work, is enriched with many other Ornaments, and Figures in Gold, all of which have some Relation to *Jupiter*; as the Sun mounting his Chariot, attended by *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and one of the Graces, next to whom stands *Mercury*, and next to *Mercury Vesta*: After *Vesta* is seen *Cupid* receiving *Venus* rising out of the Sea, and the Goddess *Persuasion* placing a Crown on the Head of *Venus*. Here also are the Figures of *Apollo* and *Diana*, of *Minerva* and *Hercules*, and

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“ on the lowest Part of the Basis, *Neptune* and *Amphitrite*,
 “ and the Moon riding on a Horse; for I take it to be a
 “ Horse, though, according to others, that Goddess is
 “ carried by a Mule, and not a Horse. I am not igno-
 “ rant that some People have undertaken to give the
 “ exact Dimensions of this Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*,
 “ yet I cannot applaud their Skill, since it appears to the
 “ Eye much larger than the Dimensions assign’d by
 “ them. The *Eleans* tell us, that *Jupiter* himself bore
 “ Testimony to the Art of *Phidias*, for that Statuary,
 “ when he had completed his Work, begged of *Jupiter*
 “ to give some Token of his Approbation, if he was
 “ pleased with the Performance; upon which, say they,
 “ the Pavement was immediately struck with Lighten-
 “ ing, in that Place, upon which a brazen Urn is still to
 “ be seen as a Memorial of the Miracle. That Part of
 “ the Pavement which is immediately before the Statue
 “ is composed of black Marble, surrounded with a cir-
 “ cular Rim of *Parian* Marble, raised about it like a
 “ Step, on purpose to contain the Oil that is poured into
 “ it, in order to preserve the Ivory from being injured by
 “ the Damps arising out of the Ground; the *Altis*, where
 “ the Temple is erected, being wet and marshy.”

To this Passage, translated from *Pausanias*, I shall add
 another, taken from *Strabo*[7], in which are some Parti-
 culars relating to this famous Statue and the Temple,
 worthy of our Observation:

[7] Lib. viii.

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“ The Temple (says he) stands in the *Pisæan* Division,
 “ little less than three hundred Stadia distant from *Elis*;
 “ before it is a Grove of wild Olives, within which lies
 “ the *Olympick* Stadium; by it passes the River *Alpheus*,
 “ running from *Arcadia* South-west into the *Triphylian*
 “ Sea. *Olympia* at first derived its Reputation from the
 “ Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*; and though this Oracle
 “ fell afterwards into Decay, yet the Temple retained its
 “ ancient Honour. But its present Greatness and Mag-
 “ nificence is owing, undoubtedly, to the *Olympick* Games,
 “ and to the Number of Offerings and Donations brought
 “ thither from all Parts of *Greece*; among which is a
 “ Golden Statue of *Jupiter*, presented by *Cypselus*, Tyrant
 “ of *Corinth*. But of all these, the Ivory Statue of *Olym-*
 “ *pian Jupiter*, made by *Phidias* of *Athens*, is, by far, the
 “ most considerable; the Bulk of which is so vast, that
 “ the Artist seems, in my Opinion, to have deviated from
 “ the Rule of Proportion; for although the Temple is of
 “ the largest Size, and the God is represented sitting, yet
 “ he almost touches the Ceiling with his Head; so that
 “ were he to rise out of his Throne, and stand upright,
 “ he would carry the Roof along with him [8].

“ *Phidias* was much assisted in the Composition, the
 “ Colours, and particularly in the Drapery of this Statue,
 “ by *Panæus*, a Painter, his Brother and Fellow-work-

[8] The Height of the Temple, according to *Pausanias*, was sixty-eight Feet; hence then it appears, that the Statue, with its Throne and Pedestal, was near sixty-eight Feet in Height.

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“ man; many of whose Paintings, and those very admirable, are to be seen up and down the Temple.
 “ There is a Tradition, that *Phidias* being ask'd by *Panænus*, by what Pattern or Idea he intended to frame
 “ his Image of *Jupiter*, answered, by that given in the
 “ following Verses of *Homer*:

“ This said, his kingly Brow the Sire inclin'd,
 “ The large black Curls fell, awful, from behind,
 “ Thick shadowing the stern Forehead of the God;
 “ *Olympus* trembled at th' Almighty Nod[9].”

How well the Performance answered the great Idea of the Statuary, may be conjectured from what *Polybius* [1] relates of *Lucius Æmilius*, who, entering into the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, and contemplating the Statue, was astonished, and said, that, in his Opinion, *Phidias* was the only Man who had succeeded in representing the *Jupiter* of *Homer*; and that, though his Expectations about *Olympia* had been raised very high, yet he found they came far short of the Truth.

Quintilian remarks of *Phidias* [2], that he succeeded better in the Statues of his Gods, than of his Men; and that, in Works of Ivory, he indisputably excelled all the World; of which, to say nothing of his other Performances, the Image of *Minerva* at *Athens*, and of *Jupiter*

[9] First Book of *Homer*, by *Tickell*.

[1] In *Fragment. Polybii*, p. 1015. Edit. *Casaub.* et apud *Suidam*, voce *Phidias*.

[2] *Instit.* L. xii. cap. 10.

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at *Olympia*, were evident Proofs; whose Beauty, continues he, seems to have added Reverence even to Religion itself, so nigh does the Majesty of the Work approach to that of the Divinity.

Before this Statue hung a Veil or Curtain, of Woollen Cloth, dyed in *Phanician Purple* [3], and enriched with *Assyrian Embroidery*; an Offering made by King *Antiochus*. This Curtain is not drawn up to the Roof, like that in the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, but let down to the Pavement.

I shall not follow *Pausanias* any further, in his Account of the many rich *Votive Offerings* or Donations, sent to *Olympia* from almost all Parts of the Heathen World, and lodged in or about the Temple and Altis of *Jupiter Olympius*; or in the Temples of other Deities, and in Buildings called *Treasuries*, erected at *Olympia* by several States, in order to receive and keep the Presents, which at any Time they had vowed to *Jupiter*; and perhaps the Money destined to defray the Expence of the Sacrifices to be made at the solemn Festival of the *Olympick Games*. The Reader, who is desirous of knowing more of these several Particulars, may find them in *Pausanias*; a *French Translation* of whose Journey through *Greece*, by the Abbé *Gedoyne*, was published at *Amsterdam*, in Four Vol. Octavo, in 1733. In the same Author he may likewise see a long List of Statues of Gods and Heroes, of *Olympick Conquerors*, Emperors, and Kings, &c. to give an Account

[3] Paus. Ibid.

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of all which, would carry me too far from my Subject; and swell this Dissertation to an unreasonable Bulk. It may be sufficient to observe, that their Number was prodigious, and their Value almost ineffimable; as they were many of them composed of the richest Materials, and made by the most eminent Statuaries of Greece. What is here said in general, joined to the Description of the Statue of *Olympian Jupiter*, the Master-piece of *Phidias*, and therefore very justly esteem'd one of the Wonders of the World, may serve to shew how liberal and magnificent the *Greeks* were, in what related to the Worship of their Gods; and to give us a just Conception of the Pomp and Splendor of the *Olympick Games*, the first and the most august of the *Four Great Festivals of Greece* [4], by Way of Eminence styled *Sacred*; a Character communicated in some Degree to those, who obtained the Crowns in the several Games, which were always exhibited in these religious Solemnities.

The Sacrifices offer'd to *Jupiter* upon his Festival were answerable to all this Magnificence; I say, the Sacrifices offer'd at the Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*; for though the [5] *Eleans* paid their Devotions to him every Day throughout the Year, yet *Lucian* assures us [6], that *Jupiter* was wont to take it very kindly, if a Stranger offer'd him any Sacrifice in the Intervals of those Games. However, it was then made up to him; for

[4] The other three were the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean Games*.

[5] *Pauf.* L. v.

[6] *De Sacris*,

then

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then not the *Eleans* only, and the Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown, but all the principal Cities of *Greece* made their Offerings to the *Olympian Jupiter*; as may be collected from a Passage of *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Demetrius* [7]. These Offerings were committed to the Care and Conduct of Deputies solemnly appointed for that Occasion, and named *Theóri*. How considerable they were, we may, perhaps, in some Measure guess from those prepared by *Jason*, against the Celebration of the *Pythian* Games. This *Jason*, by a Decree of all the People of *Theffaly*, had been appointed their General [8], a Dignity differing in little, besides the Name, from that of Sovereign: Upon the Approach of the *Pythian* Games, he ordered, by a Proclamation, all his Cities to fat up so many Oxen, Sheep, Goats, and Swine; and though he imposed but a moderate Quota upon every City, he got together above a Thousand Oxen, and more than ten Times as many smaller Cattle. He promis'd likewise to reward with a Crown of Gold that Person, who should produce the fattest Ox, fit to be put at the Head of such

[7] That this was a general Custom observed by the *Greeks* upon their great Festivals, as the *Olympick* or *Pythian* Games, &c. is farther evident from the following Passage of *Livy*, who, speaking of the Games that *L. Æmilius Paulus* celebrated at *Amphipolis*, after his Victory over *Perseus*, has these Words; *Nam et artificium omnis generis qui ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo, et athletarum, et nobilium equorum convenit, et legationes cum victimis, et quidquid aliud Decorum, hominumque causa fieri magnis Ludis in Græcia solet.* L. xlv. c. 32.

[8] Xen. G. Hist. L. vi.

a Herd

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a Herd of Victims. I will not say that the Offerings of every City in *Greece* were to be compared to this of *Jafon*. He represented all *Theffaly*, and, as the Deputy or *Theórus* of a whole People, collected the Contributions of the feveral States or Cities. *Athens* perhaps, and the other principal States of *Greece*, might do the same for all the Cities that were under their Jurifdictions. There are alfo fome private Reafons affigned, that may account for the extraordinary Preparations made by *Jafon*. He is faid to have had fome Thoughts of aspiring to prefide at thofe Games[9], and to hold, by his own Authority, the Feflival in Honour of *Apollo*.

That private Perfons alfo, thofe efpecially who had gained the Honour of an *Olympick* Victory, fometimes made very fumptuous Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, may be inferred from what *Athenæus* relates of *Alcibiades*; who, having gained the Firft, Second, and Fourth Prizes in the Chariot-Race, feafted the whole Multitude of *Grecians*, that were gathered together on the account of the *Olympick* Games, with the Victims offer'd to *Jupiter*. For at all great and folemn Sacrifices the Victims were generally fhared among thofe who were invited to the Sacrifice, only a fmall Portion of them being confumed upon the Altar. And it is probable, that all thofe, who from feveral Parts of the World were affembled on thefe Occafions at *Olympia*, were fubfifted chiefly by the Sacrifices provided by every City of *Greece*; of one or other of

[9] Xen. L. vi,

which

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which every private *Grecian* had a natural Right to partake. This Consideration, added to the Motives of Religion and Vanity, whose Influence on the *Grecians*, ever reckoned a superstitious and ostentatious People, was always very powerful, may induce us to conclude, that the whole Apparatus of the Sacrifices, furnished by every State, was, on this most solemn Festival, exceeding sumptuous and magnificent.

The principal Altar [1], upon which the Sacrifices to *Jupiter* were consumed, was placed in the mid-way between the Temples of *Juno* and *Pelops*; and was, by way of Eminence, distinguished by the Name of the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter*. This Altar, as some say, was built by the *Idæan Hercules*; or, as others, by the Heroes of the Country, about two Generations later. It was composed (says *Pausanias*) of the Ashes [2] of the Victims, mixed up with the Waters of the River *Alpheus*. No other Water would do, as both *Plutarch* [3] and *Pausanias* pretend; the Scholiast upon *Pindar's Tenth Olympick Ode* says the same Thing; and hence is inferred the great Affection which *Jupiter* is said to have had for that River. These Ashes were brought every Year on the 19th of *March* out of the Publick Hall, by the Priests or *Au-*

[1] *Pauf. L. v.*

[2] As the Altar could not be composed entirely of that Material, *Pausanias* can only mean in this Place, that it was daubed, or crufted over, with a kind of Mortar made of Ashes; and, indeed, he soon after makes use of a Word which imports no more.

[3] *Plut. de Orac. def.*

gurs [4]; who, tempering them with the Waters of *Alpheus*, made a Sort of Plaister, wherewith they crusted over the Altar. The whole Height of this Altar was twenty-two Feet; to the Top of which, where the Victims were burnt, the Priest ascended by Steps, crusted over in like Manner with Ashes, from the Plinth, or lower Basis, where the Victims were brought and slain: the Circumference of this Basis was one hundred and twenty-five Feet, and to this they mounted by Steps of Stone.

During the Time of Sacrifice the Altar was crown'd with a Garland made of the Branches of a wild Olive [5].

As it was not possible to temper into Mortar the Ashes, with which this Altar was incruited, with any other Water than that of *Alpheus*, so neither was it lawful to employ in the burnt Sacrifices any other Wood than that of the White Poplar. The Original of this Custom is derived from *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, who first brought that Tree into Greece, and made use of that Wood only in the Sacrifices, which he offer'd to *Olympian Jupiter*. Among the Ministers or Servants of the Altar there was one, whose Business it was to furnish those who came to sacrifice, as well Cities as private People, with these holy Faggots, at a certain Price.

Besides this Statue and Altar thus peculiarly belonging to the *Olympian Jupiter*, there were many more, both Altars and Statues, erected to the same God, under different Appellations; but as they have no Relation to the

[4] Paus. L. v.

[5] Ibid.

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Olympick Games, I shall pass on (without taking any farther Notice of them) to some others, that always bore a Part in the Solemnities of this Festival. The Chief of these were six Altars, consecrated [6] by *Hercules* to Twelve Gods, who were always worshipped, two at each Altar, by the Conquerors in the *Olympick Games*. The first Altar was dedicated to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, the second to *Juno* and *Minerva*, the third to *Mercury* and *Apollo*, the fourth to *Bacchus* and the *Graces*, the fifth to *Diana* and *Alpheus*, the sixth to *Saturn* and *Rhea*.

There were, besides, several other Altars, upon which the *Eleans* sacrificed on these Occasions; whose Names, as well as the Order of the Sacrifices, may be seen in *Pausanias*. To these may be added others, upon which, it is reasonable to suppose, some or other of the Competitors for the *Olympick Olive* made their Offerings, according as the Office of the several Divinities, to whom they were consecrated, related to the Exercises, in which they were severally to engage. Of this Number was the Altar of *Mercury*, call'd *Enagonius*, from his presiding over the Gymnastick Exercises; this, with another sacred to *Opportunity*, was placed near the Entrance of the Stadium. The Altar of the Nymphs, surnamed *Callistephani*, or the Nymphs presiding over the Crowns of Victory. The Altars of *Good Fortune*, of *Victory*, of *Taraxippus*, of *Neptune*, of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and many others. And, indeed, there was not a Deity in the whole *Grecian Calendar*,

[6] Schol. ad Pind. Olym. Od. 6.

who

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who had not either a Temple or an Altar erected in the *Altis*, or sacred Territory, of *Jupiter*: as if the *Eleans* had resolved that their *Jupiter* should be in every Thing the Copy of *Jupiter* in *Homer*; and appear at *Olympia* with as large a Train of Deities, as was accustom'd to attend his Summons upon Mount *Olympus* [7].

The *Ecechiria*, or Cessation of Arms, which always accompanied the Celebration of the *Olympick* Games, comes properly under the Head of Religion, as it owed its Original to the Authority of the *Delphick* Oracle, and the religious Strictness, with which it seems in most Instances to have been observed, to the pious Respect and Veneration with which the *Greeks* regarded the august Solemnity of the *Olympick* Festival. All the Cities of *Greece*, as I have already shewn, paid their Devotions to *Jupiter* upon this Festival; which, however, in the Time of War some of them must have been necessitated to neglect, had not the God open'd the Passages to his Altar, and allow'd a Safe-conduct to his Votaries, by enjoining a Forbearance of Hostilities to all those, who were willing to partake of the Games instituted to his Honour.

It appears from a Passage of *Thucydides*, which I shall produce in a following Section, that the *Eleans* first proclaimed this Cessation of Arms in their own Territories, and then in the Cities of those States with whom they were at War; and that it took Place from the Time of the first Proclamation of it at *Elis*. This was the Method

[7] See *Iliad* xx.

when

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when the *Eleans* themselves happened to be engaged in a War; and I suppose that the same Method was observed, even when the *Eleans* were at Peace; the Cessation was proclaimed first in *Elis*, and then in those States, which were at War with each other, who were obliged to forbear all Acts of Hostility from the Date of that Proclamation; which might easily have been known, if the Duration of this Truce was fixed and certain, as most probably it was. But, upon both these Points, we are reduced to mere Conjecture; no ancient Writer, that I know of, having given us any clear Account of either. The Games, strictly speaking, held but five Days; but the Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown were obliged to repair to *Elis* at least thirty Days before the Games; yet, I think, it cannot from thence be certainly inferred, that the Cessation commenced thirty Days before that Festival: though, if it did not, we must suppose that a free Passage was granted, on all Sides, to those who had entered their Names as Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown; which they were obliged to do, some Time before they repaired in Person to *Elis*. Perhaps a carefull Examination of the Progress of the *Peloponnesian* War, a minute Detail of which is given by *Thucydides*, might throw some Light upon this Matter; but as I have not Leisure for such an Inquiry, I shall leave it to those, who may think it worth the while to engage in it. [8] A Cessation of Hostilities for some Time, both before and after the

[8] See *Thucyd.* L. v. c. 49.

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Olympick Games, was doubtless necessary; and the Advantages accruing from it to the whole *Grecian* Name were so apparent and so considerable, that the *Eleans* thought proper to distinguish *Iphitus*, the Author of it, by erecting a Statue to him, even in the Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, with another emblematical Figure (for so I take it to have been) of a Woman named *Ececbiria* (a *Greek* Word, signifying a *Cessation of Arms*) placing a Crown upon his Head.

Though, with respect to the other States of *Greece*, the Tranquillity enacted by the Laws of the *Olympick Games* was but short and temporary, the People of *Elis* had it in their Power to enjoy the Felicity even of a perpetual Peace, had they been wise enough to know how to use or value their Immunities. War could never approach their Territories, without drawing down upon the Invader [9] the Vengeance of *Jupiter*. For *Oxylus*, being by the *Heraclides* re-instated in *Elis*, the Kingdom of his Ancestors, and appointed Guardian, or Curator, of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, obtained of them, under the Sanction of an Oath, that the whole District of *Elis* should be consecrated to *Jupiter*; and that not only those who should invade it, but those also who should not defend it when invaded, should be deemed accursed. Hence it came to pass, that the *Eleans* not only neglected to fortify *Elis* and their other Towns, but gave themselves up so entirely to Agriculture and the Pleasures of a Country

[9] Strabo, L. viii.

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Life, that how wealthy soever they were grown, they could not, as *Polybius* observes, be drawn from thence [1] to inhabit their Towns. The Consequence was, that *Elis* indeed grew rich and populous, but as at the same Time it lay naked and defenceless, those Riches served only to invite an Enemy, and that Populoufness did but augment the Calamity of War; which, nevertheless, would hardly have fallen upon them, had they not, of their own Accord, departed from the Sanctity of their Character; and broken down those Fences of Religion, which the Oracle, and the general Consent of all *Greece* had planted round them. They could not, it seems, be contented with Peace, though the greatest of all Blessings, while it shackled their Ambition; nor were they willing to provide sufficiently against a War, at the Expence of forsaking their old Manner of living; to which, even in the midst of War, they were entirely addicted: they were, therefore, very justly censured by that wise Historian, for having so inconsiderately lost their Immunities; and very wisely admonished by him, to retire once more within that Magick Circle, which, in his Opinion, none would have been suffered to pass over with Impunity, had any one been daring and impious enough to have attempted it.

They enjoyed their Tranquillity, however, for a considerable Time, with some few Interruptions; occasioned by a Dispute between them, the *Piseans*, and *Arcadians*, relating to the Superintendency of the *Olympick Games* [2].

[1] Lib. iv.

[2] Paus. L. v.

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Yet so great a Regard did the *Grecians* in general pay to these holy People [3], that when any Troops were to march through their Territories, upon their entering into the Borders of the *Eleans*, they delivered up their Arms, which were restored to them again upon their quitting that Country [4]. This State of Security and Peace, while the other Cities of *Greece* were confounding and destroying each other with mutual and intestine Wars [5], was accompanied with great Simplicity and Innocence of Manners, the usual Attendants of a Country Life; and *Elis*, the Earthly Kingdom of *Jupiter*, seems in this Point also to have resembled his heavenly Dominions; from whence, as we are told by *Homer* [6], that Deity had forever banished *Até*, the Goddess of Discord and Injustice.

[3] Paus. Lib. xv.

[4] Strab. L. viii.

[5] Polyb. L. iv.

[6] *Iliad* T. Pope's Il. xix.

SECTION IV.

Of the Olympiad.

THOUGH the great Advantages accruing to History from the Institution of the *Olympiad* be universally acknowledged, yet have Historians taken no Notice of its Original. They have told us, indeed, that it was instituted by *Iphitus*, and that it was a Period or Cycle of four Years. The ridiculous Reason assigned for it by *Pausanias*, would induce one to believe that they knew no more; and yet it is certain, that the *Tetraeteris*, or
Period

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Period of four Years, was almost as old as the Religions of Greece, being used in divers of their *Sacra*, or Religious Festivals [1]; as the *Panathenæa*, *Musæa*, and many other, besides the *Olympick Games*. The Silence of the ancient Historians upon this Point is so remarkable, that a learned Modern [2], who has been at infinite Pains to settle the Chronology of the Ancients, takes great Glory to himself for having discovered the true Source of this sacred Period; and unravelled all the Intricacies of the *Olympiad*. From him, therefore, I shall borrow chiefly what I have to say upon this Head.

The *Greeks*, inquiring of the *Delphick Oracle* concerning their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, received for Answer, that they would do well to sacrifice κατὰ τὰ Πάτρια, καὶ κατὰ Τρία, according to the Custom of their Fathers, and according to Three Things. Which last Words they interpreted to signify Days, Months, and Years. They accordingly set themselves about regulating their Years by the Sun, and their Months and Days by the Appearances of the Moon [3]. By this Method, they were in hopes so to order their Festivals, and Times of Sacrifice, as always to make their Offerings precisely upon the same Days, and the same Months in the Year; which, they imagined, would be pleasing and acceptable to the Gods, and consequently believed that to be the Intention of the

[1] Sir I. Newton's Chron. p. 75.
ad Euf. Chron. No. 1241.

[2] Jo. Scaliger, Animad.
[3] Geminus apud Sir I. Newton,

Chron. p. 72.

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Oracle. This, however, could only happen when the solstitial Conversions of the Sun, and the *Æquinoctials* should return to the same Places in the Calendar-Year. After trying in vain many Forms and Combinations of Years, in order to fulfill the Oracle, they at length hit upon one, which seemed to them admirably calculated to solve all Difficulties, and answer their Purpose. Their Year was made to consist of 360 Days, with two additional Days; and their Months of thirty Days each; from one of which, however, in the Course of four Years, they took a Day; by this means their *Tetraeteris* amounted to 1447 Days. Sometimes a whole Month was intercalated, and then the *Tetraeteris* consisted of 1477 Days. And thus they flattered themselves that they had punctually fulfilled the Oracle; for they sacrificed according to the Year and the Month, because the Month was full, as consisting of thirty Days; and the Years thus made up of complete Months, by means of these Intercalations, returned to their Beginnings, at least pretty near the Matter. And this is the Reason that the great Festivals of the *Greeks* were solemnized every fifth Year, after an Interval of four complete Years; as, for Example, the *Panathenæa* at *Athens*, and the *Olympick Games* in *Elis*, which were celebrated every fifth Year upon the Full of the Moon. This last Circumstance *Pindar* [4] alone hath discovered to us; and his Scholiast at the same Time informs us, that those Games were sometimes celebrated in the nine

[4] *Olym. Ode 3.*

and

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and fortieth, and sometimes in the fiftieth Month ; that is, sometimes in the Month which the *Eleans* call *Apollo-nius* ; and sometimes in that named by them *Parthenius* ; which seem to answer to our Months of *July* and *August*. Accordingly we find by *Scaliger's* Tables, that the *Olympick* New Moon fell sometimes in the Middle, or latter End, of *July*, and sometimes in the Beginning of *August*, for that Festival never preceded the Summer Solstice ; which the Ancients placed always upon the 9th of *July*, so that the *Olympick* Moon was the first New Moon after the Summer Solstice. This gave Birth to the intercalary Month, and occasioned the Variation in the *Tetraeteris*, which consisted sometimes of forty-eight Months, and sometimes of forty-nine.

This is the Doctrine of the *Olympiad*, without a perfect Knowledge of which, it will be but Labour lost, says *Scaliger*, to go about settling the *Grecian* Chronology.

And indeed, as the *Olympiad* is the only *Æra* which the *Greek* Writers make use of, it will be difficult for a Man to understand the Dates of Facts mentioned by their Historians, or to accommodate their Chronology to that of other Nations, without his previously knowing both the precise Time of the Year on which every new *Olympiad* began, and the Number of Years and Months of which that Period consisted.

But how necessary a thorough Understanding of the *Olympiad* is to those in particular, who engage in chronological Inquiries, may be easily imagined from its great

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Usefulness in such Kind of Searches ; the Consideration of which transported the great *Scaliger* almost beyond his Sense and Reason. For having pursued his Inquiry from the first Original, or Chaos, if I may so speak, of History, amid the Glimmerings of an ambiguous and allegorical Tradition ; the Monsters of a fabulous and Hieroglyphick Age, and the devious and perplexed Conjectures of Chronologists, coming at last to the *Olympiads*, like one, who, after having wandered all Night in a wide and pathless Forest, unexpectedly discovers, at Break of Day, a fair and open Causeway leading through a rich and cultivated Country, thick set with Towns and Villages, breaks out into the following Rapture : “ O ! how fortunate is it, “ that the ancient *Greeks* should take it into their Heads “ to celebrate, with so much Devotion, every fifth Year, “ their *Olympick* Games. Hail ! venerable *Olympiad* ! “ thou Guardian of Dates and *Æras* ! Assertrix of historical Truth, and Curb of the fanatical Licentiousness “ of Chronologists ! Were it not for thee, all things “ would still be covered under the black Veil of Darkness ; since there are many, even at this Day, whose “ Eyes are dazzled and blinded at thy Lustre ! By thy “ means, not those things only, that have happened since “ thy Institution, but those also that were done before “ thee, are brought to light ; as the Destruction of *Troy*, “ the Return of the *Heracrides*, the *Ionick* Migration, and “ many other ; for the Knowledge of which we are indebted to thy divine Assistance ; by the Help of which, “ also,

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“also, we are enabled to fix the Dates and Epochas of
 “the holy Scriptures; notwithstanding what silly and
 “ignorant People advance, who say, that without the
 “holy Scriptures there would be no coming at the
 “Knowledge of thy Epochas; than which nothing can
 “be imagined more absurd and monstrous.”

But notwithstanding this enthusiastick Exclamation,
 Chronologers are far from being agreed about the pre-
 cise Time, upon which the *Olympiads* began; some dating
 them from the Victory of *Corabus* the *Elean*, and others
 [5] throwing their Original thirteen, and even eight and
 twenty *Olympiads* backwarder. But this was done by the
 artificial Chronologers, who, to accommodate the *Olym-*
piads to their Systems and Computations, have added to
 their Antiquity 112 Years, as Sir *I. Newton* [6] observes.
 This great Man has thought it worth his while to exa-
 mine their Hypothesis, and to endeavour to establish the
 old Chronology upon surer and better Principles. I will
 not presume to say whether he has succeeded in his En-
 deavours or not: that must be decided by far much abler
 and more learned Men. In the mean time, I think it a
 piece of Homage due to the acknowledged Supremacy,
 if I may so speak, of his Abilities, from one, who in this
 Case must submit to the Authority of others, to prefer the
 Authority of Sir *I. Newton*, before that of any other Name
 in the World.

[5] Euf. Chron.

[6] Chron. p. 57.

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Chronologifts, however, in all their Computations agree to reckon downward from that *Olympiad* in which *Corcebus* the *Elean* was Conqueror ; with whom also the Lift of Conquerors begins. This Lift is very useful, ſince the *Greek* Writers frequently mark the *Olympiad* by no other Deſignation than the Name of the Conqueror.

Before I conclude this Section, it will not be amiſs to take Notice, that *Eusebius* tells us from *Africanus*, that the Word *Olympia*, in the *Ægyptian* Language, ſignifies the Moon ; which was ſo called, becauſe once in every Month ſhe runs through the *Zodiack* named *Olympus* by the old *Ægyptians*. This Etymology of the *Olympiad*, though mentioned by no other Author, will appear the more probable, when we conſider that the *Olympiad* was a Lunar Cycle, corrected, indeed, by the Courſe of the Sun ; and that the *Greeks* had their *Tetraeteris* from *Ægypt* [7] ; out of which fertile Nurſery they likewiſe originally tranſplanted their Arts and Sciences, their Learning and Philoſophy, their Religion and their Gods.

[7] See Scaliger in *Euf. Chron.* and *Newton's Chron.*

SECTION V.

Of the Hellanodicks, or Preſidents of the Olympick Games.

THE Right of preſiding at the *Olympick Games* was attended with ſuch Dignity and Power, that the *Eleans*, who had been in Poſſeſſion of it even from the
Time

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Time of *Iphitus*, were more than once obliged to maintain their Title by Force of Arms against their Neighbours and Rivals, the *Pisæans* and *Arcadians*: whose Pretensions, though founded, as *Diodorus Siculus* [1] observes, upon no better Authorities than old Fables and antiquated Precedents, were yet esteemed, by these envious or ambitious People, sufficient to authorize a War, and justify their breaking through those sacred Laws, which enjoined a Cessation of Arms to all the States of *Greece*, during the *Olympick Festival* [2]: for in one of these Quarrels, the *Pisæans*, joining with the *Arcadians*, who were then at War with the *Eleans*, entered the Territories of *Elis* at the very Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*, and being met by the *Eleans*, who immediately took to their Arms, there ensued a very sharp Engagement, in the View of all the *Grecians*, who were assembled from all Parts to see the Games; and who stood peaceably and aloof from Danger, with their Garlands upon their Heads, looking upon the Battle; and distinguishing, by Acclamations and Applauses, every Action of Bravery on either Side. The *Pisæans*, in the Conclusion having obtained the Victory, presided for that Time over the Solemnity; but the *Eleans*, afterwards recovering their Privilege, left that *Olympiad* out of their Register. They had twice or thrice before obliterated, in like Manner those *Olympiads*, in which the *Pisæans* had presided; till irritated at length by the frequent Revival

[1] Lib. xv. c. 9. [2] Ibid.

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of these groundless Pretensions, supported only by Violence, they, in their Turn, made an Irruption into the Country of the *Pisæans*, and destroyed the City of *Pisa* so utterly, that *Pausanias* says, in his Time there was not so much as a Ruin remaining; the whole Space of Ground, upon which that City had stood, being converted into a Vineyard. The City of *Olympia*, indeed, was in the Territory of the *Pisæans* [3], but was taken from them by the *Heracrides*; (who, upon their Return, made a new Division of the *Peloponnesus*) and was given to the *Eleans*. The *Pisæans* might from hence derive a Claim to *Olympia*, but could never found any Right of superintending those Games, of which the *Eleans* were the Founders, as *Strabo* observes, and over which they were appointed to preside by the exprefs Commands of the *Delphick Oracle*.

The Office of *Hellandick*, or President, was at first exercised by *Iphitus* alone [4]; and continued for the Space of 200 Years to be executed by a single Person, who was always of the Family of *Oxylus*: but in the 50th *Olympiad* the Superintendency of the Games was committed to Two, chosen by Lot out of the whole Body of the *Eleans*; and in the 75th, the Number was increased to Nine; Three of which had the Direction of the Equestrian Exercises, Three presided at the Pentathlon, and the remaining Three had the Inspection of the other Games. Two *Olympiads* after, a Tenth was added; and in the 103^d *Olympiad*, the College of *Hellandicks* consisted

[3] Strab. L. viii.

[4] Paus. L. v.

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of Twelve, answering to the Tribes of the *Eleans*, out of each of which was chosen one *Hellanodick*. The *Arcadians* shortly after, having vanquished the *Eleans*, took from them part of their Territory; by which means the Number of their Tribes, and that of the *Hellanodicks*, was reduced to Eight; but in the 108th *Olympiad* they returned to the former Number of Ten, and kept to it ever after.

I cannot find precisely, at what Time the *Hellanodicks* entered into Office; nor how long they continued in it. *Pausanias* [5] informs us, that for ten Months preceding the Games they dwelt together at *Elis* in a House appointed for them, and from thence called the *Hellano-diceum*: at which Time, I think, one may very reasonably fix the Date of their Commission. These ten Months they employed in qualifying themselves for the high and important Character of Judges of all *Greece*, as their Title imports: for which End they were carefully instructed in every Particular of their Duty by a Set of Officers, called the Guardians of the Laws; and attended daily in the *Gymnasium* upon the preparatory Exercises of all those, who were admitted to be Candidates for the *Olympick* Crown. These were obliged to enter their Names at least ten Months before that Festival, and to employ Part, if not the whole, of that Time at *Elis*, in exercising themselves; as shall be set forth more fully in a following Section. This Time of Preparation was not more serviceable to the Candidates than to the *Hellanodicks* themselves;

[5] Lib. vi.

who

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who were by these Means furnished with frequent Opportunities of trying their own Abilities, exerting their Authority, and sliding, as it were, imperceptibly into the Exercise of that Office, which, as it placed them upon a Tribunal to which all *Greece* was subject, exposed them at the same Time to the Observation and Scrutiny of a most awful and innumerable Assembly, whose Censure they could not hope to escape, but by the strictest and most exact Impartiality.

But as there are other Requisites towards the obtaining the Character of a wise and impartial Judge, besides the Knowledge and Practice of the Laws, the *Hellandicks* took all imaginable Precautions to keep their Judgments from any Biases, by prohibiting any of their Collegues from contending in the Equestrian Exercises; by making it a Law to themselves, not to open any of the recommendatory Letters brought to them by the *Athletes* till after the Contest was over; and by laying themselves under the Obligation of an Oath, to proceed according to the strictest Equity in those Cases, wherein they were left to the Direction of their Consciences alone [6]. This Oath was administered to them in the Senate-House of the *Eleans*, before the Statue of *Jupiter Horcius*, upon their finishing the Examination of the Boys, and the *under-aged Horses*, that offered themselves to contend in the *Olympick Stadium*; the Reason of which shall be assigned in another Place. That they were sworn also upon their en-

[6] Pauſ. L. v,

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tering into Office is very probable, though not mentioned by any Author. Another Check upon the *Hellanodicks* was the Liberty allowed to any one who thought himself aggrieved, of appealing from their Sentence to the Senate of *Elis*; an Instance of which is to be met with in *Pausanias*. *Eupolimus*, an *Elean*, having been declared Victor in the Foot-Race by two of the three *Hellanodicks*, who presided over that Exercise, and the third having given Sentence in Favour of his Antagonist, *Leon* of *Ambracia*, *Leon* appealed to the Senate of *Elis*, and accused the two *Hellanodicks* of Corruption. It appears, however, that their Sentence was ratified by the Senate; since we find the Name of *Eupolimus* in the List of Conquerors, and an Account in *Pausanias* of a Statue erected to him in *Olympia*.

Their allowing their Countrymen to dispute the Prize with those of other Nations, was objected to the *Eleans* by a King of *Ægypt* [7], to whom, in the Pride of their Integrity, they had sent an Embassy to give an Account of the *Olympick* Games; and to set forth the consummate Equity of the Laws and Ordinances of that Institution. That Monarch was persuaded they could never preserve their boasted Impartiality, when the Glory of one of their own Countrymen came into Competition with that of a Stranger; and therefore advised them to amend their Institution, by excluding all *Eleans*: but they did not think fit to follow his Advice; and assured themselves, perhaps, that over and above the particular and private Ob-

[7] Herodot. L. ii.

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ligations of Conscience, Interest, and Honour, the Consideration of the greater Glory, that would accrue to their Country from a disinterested and universal Impartiality in their Awards, would more than countervail the Advantages, whether publick or private, which might arise from the Victory or Renown of one of their Countrymen. However they might reason, they most certainly acted well; as may be inferred no less from the concurrent Testimony, than from the absolute Submission of all *Greece* to their Authority and Decrees.

The Direction and ordering of all Matters relating to the *Olympick* Festival, the proclaiming the Cessation of Arms, the excluding from the Sacrifices those, who had incurred the Penalty of Excommunication by refusing to submit to their Censures; the increasing or diminishing the Number of the Exercises, &c. belonged, as I imagine, to the *Hellandicks* as well as the superintending the Games, and bestowing the Olive-Crown; for I understand those Authors, who attribute these Powers to the *Eleans* in general, to mean the *Hellandicks*, who were, for that Time and Occasion, the Delegates and Representatives of the *Eleans*.

This Power of excommunicating those who were refractory or contumacious, which seems to have been exercised upon whole Nations, rather than particular Persons, gave the *Hellandicks* great Dignity and Authority among the several People of *Greece*; as the corporal Punishments and pecuniary Penalties inflicted by their
Orders

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Orders upon private Offenders, held even the greatest in dread of infringing the *Olympick* Laws; and kept in Order that vast Assembly, which was composed of Men of all Ranks and Degrees, and of every Region and Colony of *Greece*.

That the *Hellandicks*, in the publick Execution of their Office, were cloathed in Purple Robes, and carried in their Hands that usual Ensign of Magistracy, a Wand, or Sceptre, seems very probable, from several Passages collected by *Faber*, in his *Agonisticon* [8]; who would infer, likewise, from some other Passages cited by him, that they wore Crowns; which I will not dispute any otherwise than by observing, that from one of those Passages, which I have quoted at the Beginning of this Section, it appears, that all the *Grecians* who assisted at the *Olympick* Games, were adorned with Crowns, or Garlands; and, I believe, that Ornament was generally worn by all who attended at any publick Sacrifice.

The *Hellandicks* took their Stations at different Parts of the *Stadium*. By the *Hellandicks* in this Place, I mean those Committees of them, if I may so speak, who were appointed to superintend the several Exercises; who were consequently obliged to attend them, in those Parts of the *Stadium* where they were exhibited. The others, I suppose, remained in their proper Place [9], over-against the Priestesses of *Ceres*. The senior *Hellandick* had the Precedency of the rest.

[8] Lib. i. [9] Pauf. L. vi.

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I shall not detain the Reader with enumerating the subordinate Officers; they will be occasionally introduced in the following Sections: but shall proceed to exemplify the Authority of this high Tribunal, and the Regard paid to it by all *Greece*, from one or two Instances mentioned by the Historians.

The first I shall borrow from *Pausanias* [1]. *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, having been convicted of corrupting with Money his Adversaries in the Exercise of the *Pentathlon*, the *Hellandicks* imposed a considerable Fine upon each of the Offenders: the *Athenians*, being informed of this Sentence, out of Regard to their Fellow-Citizen deputed *Hyperides*, one of their greatest Orators, to go to the *Eleans*, and intreat them to remit the Fine: but they were not to be moved, either by the Rhetorick of *Hyperides* or the Haughtiness of the *Athenians*; who, with great Disdain, refused to submit to the Decree, though for that Refusal they were excluded the *Olympick Games*, 'till they were told by the *Delphick Oracle*, that the God would not vouchsafe them any Answer to their Inquiries, unless they paid the Penalty demanded by the *Eleans*. The *Athenians* submitted, and the *Eleans* with the Money erected six Statues to *Olympick Jupiter*.

The next is taken out of *Thucydides*, and though somewhat long, tends to illustrate so many Particulars relating to my Subject, that I cannot forbear inserting it at large.

[1] Lib. v.

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This Summer were celebrated the *Olympick Games*; in which *Androsthene*s, the *Arcadian*, bore away the Prize for the first Time in the *Pancratium*; and the *Lacedæmonians* were by the *Eleans* excluded the Festival; and not permitted either to sacrifice or contend in the Games, because they refused to pay the Penalty, which the *Eleans*, agreeably to the *Olympick Laws*, had imposed upon them, for having attacked a certain Castle named *Phyrus*, and put Soldiers into *Lepreus* during the *Olympick Truce*. The *Lacedæmonians* on their part asserted, by their Ambassadors, that they were condemned unjustly; alledging, that the Truce had not been notified in *Sparta*, at the Time of their sending their Troops to *Lepreus*. The *Eleans* on the other hand pretended, that the Truce had at that very Time taken place with them; that they always proclaim it first in their own Territories; and that having, under the Sanction of that Truce, laid down their Arms, and expected no farther Hostilities, the *Lacedæmonians* had taken that Opportunity to do them an Injury, as it were, by Stealth. In answer to this, it was urged by the *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Eleans*, after they had thought themselves injured by the *Lacedæmonians*, ought not to have notified the Truce at all at *Sparta*; which nevertheless, as if they had then no such Opinion of the Matter, they had done, after which Notification the *Lacedæmonians* had not committed any Hostilities. But the *Eleans* still adhered to their Decree, and would never be induced to own that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them no Wrong.

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They offered, however, if they would deliver up *Lepreus*, to remit their own Share of the Fine, and to lay down for them that Portion of it which belonged to *Jupiter*. The *Lacedæmonians* not consenting to this Proposal, the *Eleans* farther offered, that the *Lacedæmonians* should not be obliged to deliver up *Lepreus*, contrary to their Inclinations, provided they would go up to the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter*, since they were so desirous of partaking in the Sacrifice, and there, in the Presence of all the *Greeks*, swear that they would afterwards pay the Penalty imposed upon them. But neither to this Proposal would the *Lacedæmonians* agree; wherefore they were excluded the Festival, the Sacrifices, and the Games; and made the accustomed Offerings to *Olympian Jupiter* in their own Territories, while all the other States of *Greece*, except that of *Lepreus*, sent their Offerings by a solemn Deputation to *Olympia*. The *Eleans*, however, fearing the *Lacedæmonians* might attempt by open Violence to perform their Sacrifices, kept their young Men under Arms upon constant Guard; to whose Assistance the City of *Argos* sent a thousand Soldiers, and *Mantineia* another thousand; there were also some *Athenian* Horse quartered in *Argos* during the Festival.

There happened also another Circumstance, which put the whole Assembly into a great Consternation, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should fall upon them. One *Lichas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, the Son of *Arcefilaus*, was scourged publicly in the *Stadium* by the Officers appointed for that

Purpose

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Purpose ; because, his Chariot having obtained the Victory, and having in the Proclamation of the Conquerors been declared to belong to the *Thebans* (the *Lacedæmonians* being at that Time excluded the Games) he had entered the *Stadium*, and with his own Hand placed a Chaplet on the Head of his Charioteer ; giving to understand by that Action, that the Chariot belonged to him. Every Body therefore was exceedingly alarmed ; and concluded that this Affair would have some very extraordinary Consequence. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, kept quiet ; and the Festival passed over without any Disturbance.

I shall close this Section with an Observation, that arises naturally from these two last cited Passages, *viz.* That the great Dignity and Authority of the *Hellanodicks* was founded solely upon this Power of Excommunication ; in the Exercise of which, however derived to them at the Beginning, they were supported by the joint Concurrence of the Gods, as well as of the Men of *Greece*. On the one hand we behold the States of *Athens*, *Argos*, and *Mantineæ*, sending Troops to maintain their Sentence against the *Lacedæmonians* ; and the *Delphick* Oracle, on the other, refusing to give any Answers to the *Athenians*, till the Fine imposed by the *Hellanodicks* upon one of their Citizens, was discharged. Thus were the two most powerful and martial States of *Greece* subjected, in their Turns, to the Authority of a petty and unwarlike People ; which, possibly, we should have some Difficulty to believe, were there not many modern Examples of mightier, if not

wiser Nations, than either of the two above-mentioned, having been awed into a Submission to a Power still more insignificant than that of *Elis*, by the same edgeless Arms, the same *brutum Fulmen*. Whether the Thunders of the *Vatican* were forged in Imitation of those of *Olympian Jupiter*, I will not determine; though I must take notice, that many of the Customs and Ordinances of the *Roman Church* allude most evidently to many practised in the *Olympick Stadium*, as *Extreme Unction*, the *Palm*, and the *Crown* of Martyrs, and others; which may be seen at large in *Faber's Agonisticon*.

SECTION VI.

Of the Games, and of the Olympick Stadium.

HOW sumptuous and magnificent soever may have been the Sacrifices, and the Ceremonies of the Worship paid by the *Grecians* to *Olympian Jupiter*, yet may we venture to conclude, that the vast Concourſe of People, who at the Time of that Festival usually reſorted to *Olympia* from all Parts of the World, was chiefly owing to the Games, which always accompanied that Solemnity; and that by far the greater Number came more out of Curioſity than Devotion. It is, at leaſt, this Part of the Inſtitution that makes the moſt conſiderable Figure in the Hiſtories and Antiquities of *Greece*, and preſents itſelf upon all Occaſions principally, if not ſingly, to our Minds; while, like the Spectators of a triumphant Proceſſion, we

look

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look upon the Pomp of Sacrifice, the Herds of Victims, the Train of Priests, and even the Gods themselves, as so many Accompaniments only, and ornamental Parts of the Ceremony, and turn our Eyes to the Conqueror, whose Glory and whose Victories engross all our Thoughts and Attention. How just this Observation may be, with regard to the ancient *Greeks*, I will not here determine; but among the Moderns, I believe, there are very few, and those Men of Learning only, who either think or know any Thing of the *Religious Part* of this Institution; which, for that Reason probably, is now never mentioned under any other Title but that of the *Olympick Games*. The remaining Part, therefore, of this *Dissertation* shall be wholly taken up with an Inquiry into the Nature, Laws, &c. of those Games; in which if, for Want of Materials, I should not be able to give the Reader all the Satisfaction he may expect to find, yet enough, I hope, will be said, to give him a juster Idea of these famous Games, than he may hitherto have conceived; to lessen his Contempt, at least, if not excite his Admiration, for a Set of Conquerors, whom their Countrymen thought worthy of great Honours and Immunities; and to shew, that even in the Institution of these Sports, which seems at first Sight to have been calculated only for the Amusement of the Vulgar, a judicious Observer may discover many Strokes of that Civil Wisdom and Policy, which we have been taught to look for among the Philosophers and Law-givers of *Greece*.

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Before I enter upon this Inquiry into the Games, it will be necessary to mention a few Particulars, relating to the Place in which they were exhibited. This, by the *Greeks*, was named the *Stadium*; a Word, signifying a Measure of Length consisting of somewhat above an hundred *English* Paces [1]; which being equal to the Space of Ground allotted for the Foot-Race, the Course was from thence called the *Stadium*, and the Racers were named *Stadieis*, or *Stadiodromi*. The *Eleans*, indeed, pretended, that the *Stadium* at *Olympia* was measured by the Foot of *Hercules*, which being longer than that of an ordinary Man, made their *Stadium* longer than any other in the same Proportion.

Pausanias [2] informs us, that the *Olympick Stadium* was a Terrace composed of Earth; on one Side of which was the Seat of the *Hellanodicks*, and over-against them on the other was an Altar of white Marble, upon which the Priests of *Ceres Chamyne*, and some Virgins, had the Privilege to sit and view the Games. At the farther End of the *Stadium* was the Barrier, whence those who ran the *simple Foot-Race* began their Course; and there, according to the Tradition of the *Eleans*, was the Tomb of *Endymion*.

These are all the Particulars concerning the *Olympick Stadium*, that are to be found in *Pausanias*; for what follows in the Passage just quoted, relates only to the Horse Course, and shall be produced when I come to speak of

[1] See Arbuthnot's Tables.

[2] Lib. vi.

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the Horse-Races. But, to assist the Reader in forming a more perfect Judgment of the *Stadium*, than the foregoing Account, taken from *Pausanias*, can enable him to make, I shall add, from *Wheeler's Travels*, a Description of the Remains of that at *Athens*, which was built by *Herodes Atticus*: “The Figure (says he) and Bigness of this *Stadium* “continue, although the Degrees [Steps] be all taken “away. It is a long Place, with two parallel Sides, “closed up circularly at the East End, and open towards “the other End; and is about one hundred twenty-five “Geometrical Paces long, and twenty-six or twenty- “seven broad, which gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, “that Length being the ordinary Measure among the “Greeks; eight of which made a *Roman* Mile. Mr “Vernon measuring it exactly, found it to be six hundred “and thirty *English* Feet long; and a just *Stadium* is six “hundred and twenty-five Feet of *Athenian* Measure; “which, it seems, was but very little bigger than the “*English*, but lesser than the *French* Foot. When *Pau- sanias* comes to speak of this Place, he tells his Rea- “ders, that they would hardly believe what he was about “to tell them, it being a Wonder to all those that did see “it in ancient Times; and of that Bigness, that one “would judge it a Mountain of white Marble, upon the “Banks of the River *Ilissus*. It was *Herodes Atticus*, one “of the richest Citizens *Athens* ever had, that built it: “to do which he consumed much of the Marble of “Mount *Pentelicus*; which now being either all carried “away,

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“ away, or buried in the Ruins of the Place, it looks
 “ only like a great and high Bulwark cast up in that
 “ Form. At the End towards *Ilissus*, there appears yet
 “ some Stone-Work the rest is now but a *Stadium* of
 “ Earth above Ground.”

Though the *Olympick Stadium* does not appear to have been so splendid as this of *Athens*, or another at *Delphi*, built likewise of Marble by the same magnificent Citizen of *Athens*, yet we may suppose they were all formed upon the same Model, as they were all destined to the same Use. In the *Stadium* were exhibited those Games, which are properly called *Gymnaſtick*.

At either End of the Course stood a Pillar, the Use of which it may be proper to explain ; as also to take Notice of the several Appellations by which these Parts of the *Stadium* were distinguished, *viz.* the *Barrier* and the *Goal* ; at one of which the Race began, and was finished at the other : but this must be understood only of the *ſimple Foot-Race*, or that instituted by *Iphitus* ; for afterwards (in the 14th *Olympiad*) as Men grew more exercised, and the Reputation of these Games increased, the *Diaulus* was added. This was also a Foot-Race, whose Course was double the former ; that is, two *Stadiums*, as the Word implies. They who ran the *Diaulus*, therefore, or *double Stadium*, turned round the Pillar erected for that Purpose at the End of the *Stadium*, and returned to the Barrier, where they finished their Race.

The

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The Barrier was at first marked with a strait Line, traced along the Ground from one Side of the *Stadium* to the other: by this Line were drawn up in a Row all the Racers, and from thence they began their Race; from which Custom the Barrier, or Starting Place, was called *Grammé*, or the *Line*. This Word is also used to signify the End or Termination of the Course; and in fact, the *Diaulus*, and all the other Races, except the *simple Foot-Race*, ended at this *Line*; which, I suppose, is the true Reason of this Usage of the Word *Grammé*. The same may be said with regard to the other Names of the *Barrier* and *Stadium*, which are likewise used in both Senses.

In Process of Time a Cord was made use of, either conjointly with the *Line* or *Grammé*, or, instead of it, to restrain the Impatience of the Racers, and keep them from pressing forwards one before another. This Cord, which was stretched across the *Stadium*, at the Signal given was let fall at once, and at the same Instant the Racers started. From this Cord, called ὄσπληξ or ὄσπληγξ in *Greek*, from the Resemblance between the Noise made by the sudden falling of the Cord, and the Crack of a Whip, which is the primary Signification of ὄσπληξ, the Barrier received another Name.

The other Extremity of the *Stadium* had also different Appellations, with whose Etymologies I shall not trouble the Reader. It is sufficient to observe, that both the Names and their Etymologies arose from the different Views in which the End of the *Stadium* was considered.

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To those who ran the *simple Foot-Race* it was the End and Termination of the Course; in all the other Races the Racers turned at this End of the *Stadium* round a Pillar, in order to return to the Barrier, where the *Diaulodromi*, or those who ran the *Diaulus*, ended their Race: but the *Dolichodromi*, or Runners in the Race called *Dolichos*, or the *Long Course*, when they came to the Barrier, turned again round the Pillar erected at that End also, in order to continue their Course, which consisted of many *Diauli*, or *Doublings of the Stadium*, as shall be more fully explained hereafter. It is proper, however, to take Notice of one of the Names given to this Extremity of the *Stadium*; because from the Explanation of it in *Pollux* we learn, that the Exercises of the *Pentathlon* were performed in this Part, which was called *Bater*.

Having now produced all the Particulars relating to the Place in which the Gymnastick Exercises were performed, that I could collect, or that appeared necessary for the better understanding what is to follow; I shall, in the next Place, proceed to give a distinct Account of those several Exercises: of which I shall treat in the Order in which they were introduced into the *Olympick Stadium*,

SECTION VII.

Of the Foot-Races.

THE Description of the *Stadium* hath let us into so many Particulars of the Foot-Race, that I shall add very little upon that Head, besides an Enumeration of

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of the several Kinds of Foot-Races, and the Laws and Rules observed by the Competitors in that Exercise.

The first, and indeed the only Exercise revived by *Iphitus*, was the *simple Foot-Race*, named the *Stadium*, from the Length of the Course, as has already been observed. *Coræbus* the *Elean* stands at the Head of the List of Conquerors in this Exercise; and from them were the *Olympiads* most commonly denominated: for after the *Greeks* had taken up the Custom of dating historical Events from the *Olympiads*, they seldom failed, together with the Number of the *Olympiad*, to cite the Name of the Conqueror: thus, for Example, to denote the precise Time of the Battle of *Thermopylæ*, they would have told us, that it happened in the first Year of the 75th *Olympiad*, *Scammander* of *Mitylene* being Conqueror in the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*; which is always signified by that Word in the List of *Olympick* Conquerors. The Number of the *Olympiad* was sometimes omitted, and the *Olympiad* distinguished by no other Mark than the Name of the Conqueror. A sufficient Evidence of the great Notice which all the different People of *Greece* were supposed to take of those Victories; and an Honour so much the more flattering to the Conquerors, as he was assured it would not only be diffused over all the Parts of the known World, and cited upon many publick Occasions, but delivered down to the latest Posterity in the Records and Annals of Chronologists and Historians. This honorary Distinction, thus appropriated to the Victors in the *Stadium*,

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dium, was undoubtedly owing at first to the Want of Rivals to dispute it with them ; and continued to them afterwards out of respect to the Antiquity and Seniority of that Exercise: though their Victories were obtained with less Pains, and consequently with less Merit, than those in almost any of the other Games.

In the 14th *Olympiad* was added the *Diaulus*, or *double Stadium*, which I have explained above ; and in the next *Olympiad* the *Dolichus*, or *Long Course*. In the two former Exercises Fleetness, or Agility, seems to be the only Quality requisite for obtaining the Crown ; but in this Exercise, whose Course consisted of seven, or twelve, or even of twenty-four *Stadia* (for those different Measures are assigned to the *Dolichus* by different [1] Authors) besides Agility and Swiftnefs, a great Strength of Body and a long Wind was necessary for the holding out through so long a Course: besides, as the *Dolichodromi* were obliged to make many short Turnings round the Pillars erected at each End of the *Stadium*, the Labour of the Race was considerably increased, and the Activity and Skill of the Racer put to more frequent and severer Trials than in the two former Races. But notwithstanding the Length of this Course, and the Swiftnefs necessary to gain the Victory in the other two, there are Instances of People, in whom the two Qualities of Agility and Strength, but seldom found together, were yet so eminent as to enable them to obtain the Crown in all the three

[1] Potter's Antiq. and Cælius Rhod.

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Races in one and the same Day. Of this Number were *Polites* of *Ceramus*, and *Leonidas* of *Rhodes* [2]; but the latter was by far the most remarkable, having obtained this triple Victory for four *Olympiads* together, and distinguished himself from the whole List of Conquerors by the Gain of twelve *Olympick* Crowns.

From a Passage of *Pausanias* [3] relating to the former of these two Conquerors it appears, that the *Racers* did not start all together, but that they ran in Classes, or Divisions, to which they were appointed by Lot; and the Victors in each Division ran afterwards together for the Prize; and this Custom seems, by the last Words of the Sentence, to be confined to the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*. And indeed, that Course was so short, that it is no Wonder the *Eleans* judged it proper, upon that Occasion, to multiply a little the Labour of the Competitors; especially when they were sure to augment, in the same proportion, both the Glory of the Victor and the Pleasure of the Spectators. There is another Particular relating to the *simple Foot-Race*, intimated in a Passage of *Themistius*, cited by *Faber* [4], which the Passage just now quoted from *Pausanias* will help us to understand. It seems to have been this: the *Racers* having been distributed by Lot into several Classes, two of those Classes started at the same Time, and ran on different Sides of the *Stadium*, which was divided into two Roads, or Courses, by the Pillars erected at each End. This Conjecture, for it is

[2] Paus. L. vi. c. 13.

[3] L. vi.

[4] Agon, L. ii. c. 34.

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no better, is rendered more probable by the following Words of *Statius, Thebais*, L. vi. wherein it is said, that *Idas* in the Race having laid hold of his Antagonist *Parthenopæus* by the Hair, and pulled him back as he was just coming into the Goal before him, the Victory was adjudged to neither, but the Competitors were obliged to run the Race over again; and in order to prevent the like Fraud a second Time, they were appointed to run on different Sides of the Course.

Furit undique clamor

Diffonus; ambiguumque senis cunctatur Adrastæ

Consilium: tandem ipse refert, Compefcite litem,

O Pueri; virtus iterum tentanda, sed ite

Limite non uno: latus hoc conceditur Idæ:

Tu diverfa tene. Fraus curfibus omnis abeflo.

As the *Olympick Games* were a very folemn Festival, and were celebrated only every *fifth Year*; and as almost every fingle Man throughout *Greece* was ambitious of obtaining the Honour of an *Olympick Crown*, it is reasonable to fuppofe that the Number of Competitors in every kind of Exercife was very confiderable, efpecially in the *fimple Foot-Race*; the lighteft of them all. And this might put the *Eleans* upon the two above-mentioned Methods; by the firft of which the Confufion and other Inconveniences arifing from a Croud of People running all together in a narrow Space were prevented; and by the fecond fome *Time* was faved, which they were under a Neceffity of hufbanding as much as poffible, confidering that

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that only *five Days* were allotted for the Games ; in some of which the Contest might often happen to be drawn out into a great Length, as the previous Apparatus to each of them must needs have taken up a great deal of Time.

Though the Decision of *Adraftus*, in the above-cited Verses of *Stattus*, may seem reasonable and just, yet had any *Racer* in the *Olympick Stadium* been guilty of such a piece of foul Play, or Fraud as *Stattus* denominates it, for which *Idas* was sentenced to run the Race over again, he would not have escaped with so light a Censure from the severer Justice of the *Hellanodicks*. The Crown would have been adjudged to his Antagonist, and he, perhaps, would have been publicly scourged in the *Stadium*, for having infringed the *Olympick Laws* ; which prohibited, under severe Penalties, all kinds of Fraud and unfair Dealing. And to come home to the present Point, the Competitors in the Foot-Races were restrained expressly from laying hold of the Hair, or any Part of the Body ; from tripping, or even pushing one another aside, as we are told by *Tully* and *Lucian* [5].

The Competitors for the Crown in these Exercises (as also in all the Gymnastick Conflicts) contended naked. *Thucydides* informs us [6], that anciently it was the Custom in the *Olympick Games* for all the *Athletes* to wear a sort of Scarf about their Middle ; but that it was left off a

[5] Offic. L. iii. Περὶ τῶ μὴ ῥαδιὸς περιεῦεν.

[6] Thucyd. L. i.

6. Edit. Wasse.

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little before his Time : for so the common Reading implies, which *Hudson* [7] has altered in order to reconcile *Thucydides* with the many other Authors, who affirm, that the Scarf was laid aside even so early as the 14th *Olympiad*, some hundred Years before the Time mentioned by *Thucydides*.

Eustathius, in his Comment upon *Homer's* II. 4. relates the Accident that gave occasion to the laying aside the Scarf. In the 14th *Olympiad*, one *Orsippus* a Racer happened to be thrown down by his Scarf tangling about his Feet, and was killed ; though others say, that he only lost the Victory by that Fall ; but which ever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a Law, that all the *Athletes* for the future should contend naked. This Fact is differently told by *Pausanias*, who says, that *Orsippus* obtained the Victory ; and that he is persuaded the Scarf was designedly thrown off by *Orsippus*, who could not be ignorant that a Man was more light and disencumbered without a Scarf than with one ; *Paus.* L. i. c. 24. And this Account agrees best with an old Epigram upon *Orsippus*, quoted by the Scholiast upon *Thucyd.* L. i. Sect. 6. Ed. *Wasse*.

We are informed by *Pollux* [8], that the Racers had Sandals, or short Buskins upon their Feet.

In the 65th *Olympiad* [9] the Race of *Armed Men* was added to the *Olympick Games* : an Exercise (says *Pau-*

[7] See Note *ibid.*
L. v.

[8] *Onomast.* L. iii. c. 30.

[9] *Paul.*

sanias }

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sanias) that was judged very proper for military Men. This differed in nothing from the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, but that the Competitors ran in Armour; for which Purpose there were five and twenty Brass Bucklers kept in a Temple at *Olympia*: the other Pieces of Armour which they carried in this Race were a Helmet and Buskins, as may be inferred from *Pausanias's* [1] Description of the Statue of *Damaretus*, who gained the first Victory in this Kind of Race. The same Author tells us, at the same Time that he describes the Statue of this Victor, dressed up in these Pieces of Armour, that in process of Time the *Eleans*, as well as the other *Greeks*, abolished this Custom of running in Armour. I cannot find when this happened, nor when the Custom of running the *Diaulus*, or *double Stadium in Armour*, was first introduced. *Pausanias* [2] makes mention of one *Mnesibulus*, who gained the Victory in this Exercise in the 235th *Olympiad*

Having now gone through the several Particulars of the Foot-Races, I shall close this Section with a Translation of a *Greek Epigram*, taken out of the *Anthologia*; in which the Hyperbole made use of by the Poet to raise an Idea of the Swiftnefs of the Victor, whom he celebrates, is, in my Opinion, much prettier, and more uncommon, than the celebrated one of *Virgil* upon *Camilla*. It is necessary for the Reader to know, that *Arias* (the Person celebrated in this Epigram) was of *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, founded originally by *Perseus*, who in old

[1] L. vi. c. 10.

[2] L. x. c. 34.

Fables is represented as having had Wings upon his Feet.

On Arias of Tarsus, Victor in the Stadium.

The Speed of *Arias*, Victor in the Race,
Brings to thy Founder [3], *Tarsus*, no Disgrace:
For able in the Course with Him to vie,
Like Him he seems on feather'd Feet to fly.
'The Barrier when he quits, the dazzled Sight
In vain essays to catch him in his Flight.
Lost is the *Racer* thro' the whole Career,
'Till Victor at the Gaol he re-appear.

[3] Perseus.

SECTION VIII.

Of the Palé, or Wrestling.

THE Wrestlers were first introduced into the *Olympick Stadium* in the 18th *Olympiad*, and *Eurybatus* a *Spartan* was the first who received the Wrestler's Crown.

Theseus [1] is reported to have been the first who reduced Wrestling into a Science. The Rules laid down by that Hero for attaining to a Perfection in this Science are, I believe, unknown: but there are still to be found in those Writers who treat of *Gymnastick Exercises*, many Parts or Divisions of the *Palé*, or Art of Wrestling; by which it will appear to what a Degree it was culti-

[1] Plut, in *Thef*.

vated

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vated by the Ancients. Some of these I shall take notice of in the following Account.

But in the first Place I must observe, that as I am writing to an *English* Reader, a great deal of Time and Trouble may be spared upon this Head, so little does the Wrestling used among the Ancients seem to differ from that now practised in most Parts of *England*; in some of which, I will be bold to say, there are Champions who would have made no indifferent Figure in the *Olympick Stadium*.

The most remarkable Difference between the ancient and modern Practice is, that the ancient Wrestlers contended naked, and that their Bodies were rubbed all over with Oil, or with a certain Ointment [2] composed of a due Proportion of Oil, Wax, and Dust, mixed up together, which they called *Ceroma*. These Unctions were, as some say, peculiar to the Wrestlers and Pancratiasts, whose Combats were thereby rendered more toilsome and various; while each Combatant endeavoured to seize upon the other, whose Efforts to escape or break the Hold of his Antagonist were assisted by the Slipperiness, as well as the Force and Agility of his Body.

But, in order to qualify a little this extreme Lubricity of the Skin, occasioned by these Unctions, the *Athletes* were accustomed [3], before they came to an Engagement, either to roll themselves in the Mud of the *Palæstra* (from which some People derive the Words *Palé*

[2] Burette 1 Mem. sur les Athletes.

[3] Lucian. de Gymn.

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and [4] *Palæstra*) or in the Sand, kept for that Purpose in a Place called *Κονιστήριον*, or that with which the Place of Combat seems to have been covered, as well for the Use just now mentioned, as to prevent the Combatants from bruising or injuring themselves in falling; which, were it not for this Bed or Covering of Sand, they would be liable to do. However that be, it is so certain that the *Athletes* who were anointed, were always, before they engaged, sprinkled with Dust or Sand [5]; that to say an *Athlete* gained a Victory (*ἀκονιστή*) or without being so sprinkled, was the same Thing as to say he gained a Victory without engaging; which sometimes happened, when, either from the great Reputation of the Champion, or other Reasons, none appeared to encounter with him. This Office of anointing and sprinkling the Combatants with Sand, was sometimes performed by themselves to one another; and sometimes by the Officers of the *Palæstra*, called from thence *Aliptæ*, or Anointers. It is to be observed, that all Sorts of Sand were not equally proper for this Use; since *Leonatus*, one of *Alexander's* Generals [6], was, in all the Marches of the Army, followed by Camels loaded with Sand, which he had caused to be brought from *Ægypt* for his own Use.

After the Wrestlers were thus prepared for the Engagement, they were matched by the Judges or Presidents of the Games in the following Manner :

[4] viz. from *Πηλός*, which signifies Mud.

1 Mem. sur les *Athletes*.

[6] Plut. in *Alex*.

[5] See Bur.

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Into a Silver Urn, consecrated to *Jupiter* [7], and brought forth upon this Occasion, were cast so many Lots or Dice, about the Bigness of a Bean, as answered to the Number of the Competitors. These Lots were all marked with Letters; as for Example, upon two of them was written the Letter A, B upon two other, and so on in an alphabetical Order; if the Number of Combatants required more, there were always two Lots marked with the same Letter. This being done the *Athletes* approached in Order, and invoking *Jupiter*, put their Hands into the Urn, and drew out each his Lot: to prevent all Fraud, an Officer appointed for that Purpose attended upon every one as he came to draw, and held up his Hand before him, to hinder his seeing the Letters written upon the Lot. When every one had drawn, the *Alytarches*, or one of the Presidents of the Games, going round to every *Athlete* in Order as they stood, inspected the Lots. And thus the Two, whose Lots were both marked with the same Letter, as with A or B, were by him matched and appointed to engage with each other. This was the Case when the Number of the Combatants was even, as Four, Eight, Twelve; but when the Number was odd, as Five, Seven, Nine, &c. there was put into the Urn, together with the duplicate Lots, an odd one marked with a Letter, to which there was none that corresponded. The *Athlete* who was fortunate enough to obtain this Lot, was named *Ephedrus*, was to wait 'till the

[7] Lucian in *Hermotimo*.

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others had contended, and was then to take up one of the Conquerors. This, as *Lucian* observes, was a very considerable Advantage; as the Champion, who by virtue of his Lot was to wait 'till the others had contended, and then engage with one of the Conquerors, came fresh and vigorous to the Encounter, against an Adversary, animated indeed and flushed with Conquest, but shattered and exhausted in obtaining it.

This was the Method of matching the Wrestlers and Pancratiasts; and for this Piece of History we are indebted to *Lucian* alone, no other ancient Author having said any thing upon that Subject. It is to be wished that he had gone on a little further, and told us what was done after the first Set had finished their Combats; with whom was the *Ephedrus*, or odd Man, to engage: for if the Number of Combatants amounted at first to more than Four, it is evident there would be again the same Necessity for matching the Conquerors as there was at first: and I doubt not but the same Method was observed, and repeated as often as Occasion required, till the Competitors were reduced to Two, one of which was finally proclaimed the Conqueror. This appears a much more natural Solution of the Difficulty than any other hinted at by Monf. *Burette* [8], and may be farther supported by the Consideration, that the Advantages accruing to the *Athlete*, named *Ephedrus*, were by this Method rendered less unequal. For if the Combatants were to be

[8] 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

matched,

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matched, and the Lots to be drawn more than once (which must have often been the Case) he might in the second Sortition, in which undoubtedly he was included with his Antagonists, lose the Advantage he had acquired in the former ; and the lucky Lot might fall to the Share of one who had already been engaged, and who might stand in need of the Respite thus allowed him by his good Fortune.

The Wrestlers being thus matched proceeded to the Combat, in which the Victory was adjudged to him who gave his Adversary *three Falls*; as is evident, I think, from the famous Epigram upon *Milo* [9], which I intend to produce at the End of this Section [1].

If one of the Combatants in falling drew his Antagonist with him, the Contest began afresh, or was rather continued upon the Ground, until one getting uppermost constrained his Adversary to yield the Victory. This Combat was called *Anaclinopalé*, and seems not so much to be a distinct Species from, as a Modification of the *Palé*; or an accidental, or perhaps artificial Variation of the Battle : for he who found himself in Danger of being thrown, had sometimes Recourse to this Stratagem of dragging his Adversary with him, and trying upon the Ground a Combat in which he thought himself better qualified to succeed. However, those Authors who have

[9] See *Monf. Burette*, who is not of the same Opinion.

[1] This is also confirmed by the following Words of *Seneca* ;
Lucrator ter abjectus perdidit palmam. Sen. de Ben. L. v. c. 3.

written

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written upon the *Palé*, have made this a distinct Exercise ; and it is not unlikely but it may have been treated as such in the *Gymnasia*, or Schools of Exercise ; where there were Masters, whose Business it was to give their Scholars distinct Lessons in every Branch of the Science they professed to teach : from which Custom one may very well account for the many Divisions and Subdivisions of the *Palé*, and other Gymnastick Exercises, of which modern Writers have made so many distinct Species. Of this Kind in all likelihood was the *Acrocheirismus* ; so named, because the Combatants, during this Part of their Engagement, held one another only by the Fingers, without seizing on any Part of the Body. This has been reckoned a distinct Exercise, and another Division of the *Palé* ; though, as *Monf. Burette* very well observes, it seems rather to have been the Prelude of the Combat in which the Antagonists made Trial of each other's Strength, or endeavoured, perhaps, by seizing each other's Hands, mutually to prevent one another from taking a firmer and more advantageous Hold.

Pausanias, in his sixth Book [2], makes mention of a Statue erected at *Olympia* to one *Leontiscus* a Wrestler, who was not so skilfull at throwing his Adversaries, as successfull in extorting the Victory from them by squeezing or breaking their Fingers. This Method of conquering was also practised in the *Pancratium* [3], by one *Sostratus*, with so much Success, that he gained from it the Sur-

[2] Cap. iv.

[3] Ibid.

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name of *Acrocherfites*. What has been related of *Leontiscus* is a clear Proof of what I observed before, namely, that the *Acrocheirismus* was not a distinct Species of the *Palé*, or Wrestling.

The Champion who distinguished himself the most in this Exercise, was *Milo* of *Crotana*, who gained no less than six *Olympick*, and as many *Pythian* Crowns. There are so many Instances of the prodigious Strength of this famous Wrestler, and most of them so well known, that it would be endless and impertinent to cite them all : but I cannot forbear producing one, as remarkable for the Singularity as the Issue of the Experiment.

This *Milo* [4], to give a Proof of his astonishing Force, was wont to take a Pomegranate, which, without squeezing or breaking it, he held so fast by the mere Strength of his Fingers, that no body was able to take it from him; no body but his Mistress, says *Ælian* [5]. But however weak he may have been with regard to the Fair Sex, his superior Force was universally acknowledged by the Men, as will appear by the following Epigram :

On Milo the Wrestler.

When none adventur'd, in th' *Olympick* Sand
The Might of boist'rous *Milo* to withstand ;
Th' unrivall'd Chief advanc'd to seize the Crown,
But 'mid his Triumph slip'd unwary down.

[4] Paus. L. vi. c. 14. [5] *Æl.* L. ii. c. 24.

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The People shouted, and forbade bestow
The Wreath on him, who fell without a Foe.
But rising, in the midst he stood, and cry'd,
Do not *Three Falls* the Victory decide?
Fortune indeed hath giv'n me One, but who
Will undertake to throw me th' *other Two*?

SECTION IX.

Of the Pentathlon.

AUTHORS differ very much in their Account of the Exercises of which the *Pentathlon* was composed: tho' I think it is very clear, from some Epigrams in the *Anthologia* [1], that it consisted of *Leaping*, *Running*, *Juosting*, *Darting*, and *Wrestling*. For it is agreed that the *Pentathlon* is intended to be described in that Verse [2], said to be written by *Simonides*, where these five Exercises are enumerated, according to the Order in which I have placed them. Yet notwithstanding so venerable an Authority, some Authors [3] have substituted the Combat of the *Cæstus* instead of *Darting*; and others pretend, that by the Word *Pentathlon* no more is to be understood than a Game, or Trial of Skill, consisting of *Five*, and of any *Five* Exercises. Upon what Authorities these latter found their Assertion I cannot tell, but this I am sure of, that

[1] Anthol. L. i. c. 1. Epi. viii. and L. ii. c. 1. Ep. vii.

[2] Ἰσθμία ἔξ Πυθοῦ Διοφάν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐνίκη
Ἀλμα, Ποδοκρίην, Δίσκον, Ἀκονία, Πάλην.

[3] Potter's Antiq. vol. i. c. 21.

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the Combat of the *Cæstus* could never have been originally of that Number ; because the First Victor in the *Pentathlon* was a *Spartan* [4], whose Laws would not have allowed him to engage in the Combats of the *Cæstus*. I will not say that the *Pentathlon* consisted always of the *Five* Exercises above mentioned, because we read in *Pausanias* [5], that the *Eleans* from Time to Time made frequent Changes in the *Olympick* Games. There may therefore have been some Foundation for these various Accounts of the *Pentathlon*, which may have been different at different Times ; but as that which I have given of it seems to be founded upon the best Authorities, I shall keep to it, without entering for the present into a Description of any other Exercises, besides the *Five* above mentioned, *viz.* *Leaping*, *Running*, *Quoiting*, *Darting*, and *Wrestling*.

Two of these, namely *Running* and *Wrestling*, have already been very fully explained ; I shall therefore only observe upon the former of these Two, that I suppose the Race in the *Pentathlon* was of the same Length with the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, and regulated by the same Laws. We must carry this Observation also to the *Wrestling*, which, I suppose, was under the same Regulations with the *simple Palé*, or *Wrestling*, treated of in the preceding Section.

In the Exercise of *Leaping*, wherein the Competitors endeavoured to leap beyond one another in Length (for I

[4] Plut. in Apoth.

[5] Lib. v.

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do not find that the *Height* of the *Leap* was taken into the Account) the *Athletes* carried in their Hands Pieces of Lead, or some other Metal [6], made in the Form of a Half Circle, not exactly round, but inclining to an Oval. In these there was a Place made for the Fingers to pass through, in the same Manner as through the Handle of a Shield; and with these Weights called *Αλτηρες*, (*Halteres*) the *Athletes* were accustomed to poize their Bodies, and swing themselves forward in the *Leap*. And to say Truth, they had need of some Assistance, to enable them to perform any thing like what is related of *Phaylus* of *Crotona* [7], whose *Leap* is said to have been two and fifty Feet long [8]. The same Thing is said of *Chionis* the *Spartan*.

The *Quoit*, or *Discus*, was, according to some Authors, of various Sizes and Figures; though that called the *Disk of Iphitus*, mentioned by *Pausanias* [9], seems, by what he says of the Manner in which the Inscription upon it was written, to have been circular; as were those described by *Lucian*, in his Dialogue concerning the Gymnastick Exercises. “ You took Notice (says *Solon* to *Anacharsis*, the other Interlocutor in this Dialogue) “ of a “ great Lump of Brass round and smooth, resembling a

[6] *Pauf. L. v. c. 26.* [7] *Olympion. Αναλθαφή.*

[8] Five and fifty, according to the following Inscription under his Statue, cited by *Eusebius*; *ad Hom. Odysf. Θ.*

Πέντ' ἐπὶ πενήκοντα πόδας πῆδησε Φάϊλος,
Δίσκουσιν δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

[9] *Lib. v.*

“ small

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“small Shield, but without a Handle or Thong. You
 “tried it too, and found it very weighty, and difficult to
 “be taken up, by reason of its Smoothness. This Mass
 “the *Athletes* throw into the Air as far as they are able,
 “and endeavour with great Eagerness and Emulation to
 “surpass each other in the Length of the Cast.” Here
 we have not only a Description of the *Disk*, or *Quoit*, the
 Manner of the Contest, and the Laws and Conditions of
 the Victory, but a Proof also, that all the Competitors
 made use of one and the same *Disk*. This is confirmed
 by the Testimonies of *Homer* [1], *Ovid* [2], and *Sta-*
tius [3], who mention but one *Disk* in their Descriptions
 of this Game, in Contradiction to the pretended Autho-
 rity of a Medal of the Emperor *M. Aurelius*; upon whose
 Reverse are represented four *Discoboli*, with each his *Disk*,
 and some of them with two. The *Disks* also in this Me-
 dal are of a different Figure from that described above,
 and are perforated in the Middle; which explains what
 some Authors [4] tell us, of a *Thong* used sometimes by
 the *Athletes* in throwing the *Disk*. And perhaps there
 were different Sorts of *Disks* made use of by the *Greeks*
 and *Romans*; since *Ovid*, I observe, calls it *latum discum*,
 the *broad Disk*, an Epithet that agrees very well with its
 Appearance upon the Medal. In the *Greek* Writers it is
 generally represented to be round or globular, or rather

[1] *Odyss.* L. viii.

[2] *Met.* L. x.

[3] *Theb.* L. vi.

[4] See *Potter's Antiq.* vol. i, c. 21. and *Comment.* upon *Homer*
 and *Ovid*, in loc. cit.

approach-

approaching to the Figure of a Lens, and extremely heavy.

The *Disc* was likewise composed of different Materials [5], as Iron, Brass, Stone, and sometimes even of Wood; and was thrown underhanded, much in the same Manner as the *Quoit* is amongst us; from which, however, it differed greatly both in Weight and Figure, as has been already shewn. Neither did the *Discoboli* aim their *Quoit* at any particular Mark, as is the Custom with us; their whole Endeavours were to throw beyond one another, and he who threw farthest, obtained the Victory.

The same Thing was also observed in the Exercise of *Darting*, in which the Victory was awarded to him who threw his *Javeline* farther than the rest of his Antagonists. It appears, however, from a Passage in the *Scholiast*, upon the Seventh *Nemean* Ode of *Pindar* [6], that there were certain Limits or Boundaries prescribed, beyond which it was a Forfeiture of the Prize for an *Athlete* to cast his *Javeline*; and to this Custom *Pindar* himself has frequent Allusions. The *Javeline* was sometimes thrown with the bare Hand, and sometimes with the Help of a Thong, wound round the middle.

From some Terms appropriated to that Part of the *Stadium* in which the *Pentathlon* was exhibited, may be collected some Circumstances relating to the three Exercises last described. One of these Terms is *Bater* (*Βάτης*) which seems to have been a low *Step*, from whence the

[5] Pind. Pyth. Ode 1. [6] Verse 104th.

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Leapers took their *Rising*. *Bater* was also used to signify the *Beginning* of the *Scamma*, another Term denoting the *Area* marked out for the Exercises of the *Pentathletes*. The Word *Scamma* properly signifies a *Ditch* or *Trench*; and this *Area*, as I conjecture, was formed by two parallel *Trenches* drawn from the *Bater* or *Step* above-mentioned into a sufficient Length, to serve as Boundaries or Limits, within which the *Pentathletes* were obliged to *leap* and to throw the *Disc* and *Javeline*; and which if they transgressed, by *leaping* or casting the *Disc* or *Javeline* over either of them, they forfeited their Pretensions to the Victory. This will explain the Passage above cited from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, as well as many Expressions in other *Greek* Writers, who speak of *leaping*, *shooting*, *darting*, &c. over the *Scamma*, or τα ισκάμματα, *Trench* or *Trenches*, as a Fault. Indeed, if the Word *Terma*, used by *Pindar* in the Passage referred to by his *Scholiast*, be taken literally to signify the *End* or *Termination*, it will lead us to suppose there was another *Trench*, drawn across at the *End* from one Parallel to the other; or rather several *Trenches*, as so many Marks or Limits for the *Leapers*, *Darters*, and *Discoboli*, which in their respective Contests they were required not to over-pass. But as the Fear of over-passing these Marks or Limits must check them in their Endeavours to out-go each other, upon which the Victory depended, I am rather inclined to think that *Pindar* has used the Word *Terma* improperly, and that the *Two Side-Trenches* were the only Limits which the

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Pentathletes were forbidden to transgress. But this I submit to better Judgments.

The Exercise of *Leaping* in the *Pentathlon* was accompanied by Flutes, playing *Pythian* Airs, as *Pausanias* informs us. Whence this Custom was derived I cannot say. And the Reason assigned for it by that Author, which is certainly not the true one, may induce us to think, that in this Matter the Ancients were as ignorant as we.

The Candidates in the *Pentathlon*, as well as those in all the other *Gymnastick* Exercises, contended naked, and were also anointed with Oil; though both these Points are called in Question by some Writers, especially the former; and that, as I suppose, chiefly upon the Authority of the forementioned Medal of *M. Aurelius*, which, however, is suspected by the Learned not to be genuine.

There are likewise many Doubts and Difficulties started by some, with relation to the Conditions upon which the Victory was awarded in the *Pentathlon*; though it seems clear to me, that he who vanquished his Antagonists in every one of the *Five Exercises*, was alone entitled to the Crown. That he who was vanquished in any one of these Five Contests thereby lost the Crown, is evident from the Story of *Tisamenus*, related by *Pausanias*, *Lacon.* c. 11. which is this: *Tisamenus* the *Elean*, of the Family of *Jamus*, had been told by the Oracle, that he should gain *Five* very glorious *Victories*, or more literally perhaps, that he should come off successfull in *Five* very glorious

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glorious Conflicts. In consequence of which he engaged in the *Pentathlon* at *Olympia*, but lost the Victory; for though he got the better in Two of the Exercises, having vanquished *Hieronymus* of *Andros*, in *Running* and *Leaping*, yet being vanquished in *Wrestling* by the same *Hieronymus*, he failed of obtaining the Crown; and then came to understand, that the Victories promised him by the Oracle were military Victories.

If all Hopes of gaining the *Pentathletick Crown* were lost to him, who was vanquished in any one Trial (which all the Candidates except one must be even in the first) it may be demanded, why the Vanquished should contend any longer? To this I answer, that the *Pentathletes* were probably obliged by the Laws of the *Olympick Games* to go through all the *Five Exercises*. For *Pausanias* represents the *Pentathlon* as a very tedious and laborious Contest; which Representation of it is by no means just, upon the Supposition that the Victory was decided by a single Trial. I could confirm what is here said of the *Pentathlon* by other Authorities, but I am unwilling to multiply Quotations; and probably no one will think it worth his while to dispute this Point.

But though all the Competitors except one must have despaired of gaining the Crown, even from the very first Trial, yet might they still be desirous of carrying on the Contest through the *Four* remaining Exercises (had they not been required to do it by the *Olympick Laws*) either with a View of signalizing themselves in some of the other

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Contests, or the Hopes of ravishing the Crown from him, by whose Victory they had been excluded from the Prospect of obtaining it. *Which, if not Victory, was yet Revenge*; though Revenge in their Circumstances might well be deemed a kind of Victory neither immoral nor inglorious. In this Case indeed it might sometimes happen, that none of the Competitors would be entitled to the Crown; but even this may be considered as an Event, with which the Majority of the Competitors, at least, if not of the Spectators, who upon such Occasions are commonly divided into different Interests and Factions, had as much Reason to be pleased, as with the Glory accruing to a single Person, to the Dishonour of themselves or their Friends.

Before I conclude this Section I must take notice, that *Pindar*, in his 13th *Olymp.* Ode, congratulates *Xenophon* of *Corinth* upon his having gained in one Day two *Olympick* Crowns; one in the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, the other in the *Pentatblon*; *which*, says he, *never happened to any Man before*. The Reason is, that the Regimen of a *Pentathlete*, as both *Epictetus* and his Disciple *Arrian* inform us, was very different from that of an *Athlete*, who qualified himself for a single Exercise alone, as *Running*, *Wrestling*, or any other. Whence, as we are assured both by *Plato* and *Longinus*, it seldom happened that a *Pentathlete*, though very eminent in his Profession, was able to contend with an *Athlete* in that Exercise, as *Running*, for Example, or *Wrestling*, to which alone he had applied himself

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himself altogether. The same Thing may be said of all the *Athletes* in general ; who differed from each other in their respective Regimens and Diets, as much or more than in the several Exercises to which they peculiarly applied themselves.

SECTION X.

Of the Cæstus.

THE Combat of the *Cæstus*, which was revived in the 23^d *Olympiad*, was a very rough Exercise ; in which the Victory was most commonly, if not always stained with Blood. For this Reason it was held in little Estimation by most People. The Physicians, who were accustomed upon many Occasions to prescribe the Use of some or other of the Gymnastick Exercises, either make no mention of this, or speak of it only to condemn it. *Alexander*, as *Plutarch* [1] tells us, treated it with no more Regard : for he never admitted either the *Cæstus* or *Pan-
cratium* among those Games, which he after exhibited during his War in *Asia*. And indeed, to say nothing of the Danger to which the Combatants in these two Exercises were exposed ; and for which the Glory alone of the Victor, without any other Advantage accruing either to himself or his Country, was not a sufficient Recompence ; the Regimen observed by those who qualified themselves for these Combats, was by no means proper for a Soldier.

[1] In *Alex.*

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What this was in general, may appear from the Account given of it to *Philopæmen*; who, being exceedingly desirous of becoming a good Soldier, had for that Reason, with great Diligence, exercised himself even from his Infancy in the Management of his Arms, in Horsemanship, and Wrestling [2]; in the last of which Exercises he had made a good Proficiency. But being advised by some People to apply himself to those Exercises properly called *Athletick* (by which, I think, must be understood the *Cæstus* and the *Pancratium*, in contra-distinction to the *Palæ* or *Wrestling*, as appears from this Passage) he demanded of them, whether the two Professions of an *Athlete* and a Soldier were not inconsistent? In answer to this Question he was told, that both the Habit of Body and the Way of Life of a Soldier and an *Athlete* differed in every Respect; and consequently they were to be treated differently, both with regard to their Regimen and to their Exercises: That an *Athlete* was to endeavour by much Sleep, perpetual Repletion, stated and regular Repose and Exercise, to acquire and keep up a certain *Corpulency*; which, by the least Variation in his Diet or Manner of living, was very subject to be lost: whereas a Soldier should accustom himself to all Sorts of Inequalities, to a Life full of Discomposure and Disorder; and above all, to support with Ease the Want of Provisions and the Loss of Sleep. These Reasons determined *Philopæmen* not only to reject these Exercises himself, but to

[2] Plut. in *Philopæm.*

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discourage them in others. I will not say these were the Reasons that induced *Lycurgus* to banish the *Cæstus* and *Pancratiæ* from *Sparta*, because there is another Reason assigned for his doing it, which I shall take Notice of in another Place ; but it is certain that the Diet and Regimen prescribed by him to his *Spartans*, resembled much more that of a Soldier than that of an *Athlete*. This *Corpulency*, or *Polyfarcia* (Fleshiness) as the *Greeks* called it, was fought after and cherished by the Combatants in the *Cæstus*, as a Sort of Covering and Defence for their Bones and Muscles, against dry Blows and Buffets ; but was at the same Time very improper for a Soldier : for, as *Epaminondas* [3] observed to a fat Fellow, whom for his Bulk he turned out of the Army, it would require three or four Shields to cover and defend a Belly that hindered a Man from seeing his own Knee.

On the other hand, there are great Authorities to be produced in favour of the *Cæstus*. *Hercules* and *Pollux*, Demigods ; *Amycus* King of the *Bebrycians*, and *Erix* his Grandson, were the first who distinguished themselves in those Combats : upon his Superiority in which *Amycus* [4] so valued himself as to compel all Strangers who touched upon his Coast, to take up the *Cæstus*, and make Trial of his Strength and Skill in the Management of that rude Instrument of Death ; for so it proved to many, who accepting the Challenge perished in the Combat. But at length the *Royal Athlete* met with his Match ; *Pollux* en-

[3] Plut. Apophth.

[4] Apoll. Rhod. L. ii. Theocr.

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countered, subdued, and slew him, according to *Apollonius Rhodius* [5], but that last Part of the Story is denied by other Authors. All however agree, that *Pollux* handled him roughly enough to make him sensible of the Folly which many Tyrants have run into, some have suffered by, but which none have reflected upon till they came to suffer ; namely, the Folly of enacting an unjust and cruel Law, which in its Consequences may, and often does happen to recoil upon themselves.

This *Amycus* is said to have invented the Combat of the *Cæstus*.

After him we find it in *Homer* [6] practised by the Heroes of the *Iliad*, and in *Virgil* [7] making one among the Games exhibited by *Æneas* in Honour of his Father *Anchises* ; in which two Authors may be seen a complete Description both of the Combat, and of the *Cæstus* with which the Hands and Arms of the Combatants were usually bound. This consisted of many *Thongs* of *Leather*, or *raw Hides of Bulls*, wound about the Hand and Arm up to the Elbow ; and seems to have been invented, as well for a Safeguard to those Parts upon which the first Fury of the Battle generally fell, as for an offensive Weapon ; though, when it was lined with Plates of Lead or Iron (which it sometimes was, according to *Virgil*) one would think it intended chiefly for the latter : but I must take Notice, that neither of the three *Greek* Poets who

[5] See the Scholiast, Ver. 97. and Theocr.

[7] *Æn.* v.

[6] *Il.* xxv.

have

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have given us a Description of the *Cæstus*, make any mention of Plates of Lead or Iron.

There may possibly have been another Intention in binding up the Hands of the Combatants with *Thongs of Leather*, and that is, to prevent their laying hold of each other; from which, as from *kicking* also, and *tripping*, they were restrained by the Laws of the *Cæstus*.

Pausanias hath helped us to another Reason for the Custom of binding up the Fingers of the Combatants, which took its Rise from an Accident that happened in the *Nemean Games*.

Creugas and *Damoxenus* [8], two Champions of equal Strength and Skill, having drawn out their Combat to the Evening, without either's having been able to subdue his Adversary, agreed at length to permit each other to strike in his Turn where he should think proper, without either of them endeavouring to ward off the Blows. *Creugas* began, and gave *Damoxenus* a Wound upon the Head. *Damoxenus* being now to take his Turn, ordered his Antagonist to lift up his Arm, and keep it still; and at the same Time struck him under the Ribs with the Ends of his Fingers; which, by reason of the Strength and Sharpness of the Nails and the Violence of the Blow, penetrated into his Belly; and *Damoxenus* following his Blow, widened the Wound, and through it drew out the Entrails of his Enemy, who died upon the Spot. The Death of *Creugas* gave *Damoxenus* the Victory indeed, but

[8] *Pauf. L. viii. c. 40.*

not the Crown ; for the Judges of the Games drove him with Infamy and Indignation out of the *Stadium* ; as one who had conquered by Treachery, and by repeating his Blows without allowing *Creugas* to have his Turn, had basely violated the Conditions agreed upon between them in the hearing of the whole Assembly. *Creugas* was crowned ; and the *Straps* of the *Cæstus*, which hitherto, according to the ancient Custom, were tied in the Palm or Hollow of the Hand, were from that Time brought over the Fingers, and fastened upon the Wrist.

The ancient *Cæstus* [9] was called *μείλιχος*, or *soft* ; perhaps because it was composed of raw Hides, or perhaps to distinguish it from the more modern *Cæstus*. We have already remarked one material Difference between them ; by which I think it appears, that the former was more fitted to defend the Hand and Arm of the Combatants (which, I suppose, was its original Purpose) and the latter to hurt and annoy the Enemy : and it is not unlikely, that as the *Grecians* began to refine upon the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and the Science of an *Athlete*, from the Encouragement of the Publick, grew by Degrees into a *Profession* : it is not unlikely, I say, that the *Cæstus* should from Time to Time receive several Additions ; and that at length it should be improved by the *Romans*, who delighted in bloody Spectacles, into that terrible Weapon described by *Virgil*. This Conjecture will at least ac-

[9] Vid. *Pauf. ibid.*

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account for the Difference observable between that in *Virgil*, and those described by the *Greek Poets*.

I must also observe, that in *Apollonius Rhodius*, *Amycus* the Challenger throws down two Pair of *Cæstuses*, the Choice of which, out of Bravery, he leaves to *Pollux*, without drawing Lots, and *Pollux*, without examining, takes those that were next him. Did the Poet borrow this Circumstance from any such Custom in the publick Games? Did the Combatants in the *Olympick Stadium* bring their own *Cæstuses*? Did they cast Lots for the Choice? Or were they furnished by the Presidents of the Games with *Cæstuses* of a like Form and Weight, as *Entellus* and *Dares* were by *Æneas*? I am inclined to think the latter was the Method, from a Custom observed at *Olympia*, to furnish the *Armed Racers* and the *Discoboli* with Shields and Discks out of the publick Treasures.

The Combatants in this Exercise also fought naked [1], or at most with no other Covering than a Scarf tied round their Middle. They also wore a Cap or Head-piece, to defend their Ears and Temples from Blows, which in those Places might have proved mortal, especially when inflicted by a strong Hand, armed with so rude a Weapon. These Head-pieces were of Brass, according to the Author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. It appears, however, from the following Epigram of *Lucilius*, that the Consequences of these Battles were some-

[1] See Burettæ.

times

times very terrible, though the Combatants escaped with their Lives and Limbs.

On a Conqueror in the Cæstus.

This Victor [2], glorious in his *Olive-Wreath*,
Had once *Eyes, Eye-brows, Nose, and Ears, and Teeth*;
But turning *Cæstus-Champion*, to his Cost,
These, and, still worse! his Heritage he lost.
For by his Brother *su'd*, disown'd, at last
Confronted with his Picture he was *cast*.

[2] Anthol. L. ii, c. 1. Ep. i.

SECTION XI.

Of the Pancratium.

“THERE are wonderful Disputes, as I hear (says
“ *Cælius* [1] *Rhodiginus*) among the *Grammarians*,
“ concerning the *Pancratium*, who cannot agree what
“ Sort of an Exercise it was; nor wherein the peculiar
“ Excellence of a *Pancratiast* consisted. But notwith-
“ standing (continues he) I think it very easy to decide
“ that Question.” And indeed, from the two Passages
which he there quotes out of *Aristotle* and *Quintilian*, it
seems pretty plain that the *Pancratium* [2] was an Exer-

[1] Ant. Lect. L. xiii, c. 30.

[2] This is farther evident from the two following Passages; σύνθε-
τον ἐκ πυγμῆς ἔτι πάλης ἢν τὸ πανκρατίον. ἔξιν γὰρ τῷ πανκρατιάσει
cise

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cise that partook both of the *Cæstus* and the *Palé*; by which it is to be understood, that an *Athlete* must borrow many Things from each of those Sciences to render himself eminent in the *Pancratiūm*. He must learn to *trip*, and *strike*, to *box*, and *grapple* with his Antagonist; to stand with Firmness, fall with Advantage, and rise with Vigour and Celerity; or maintain the Combat upon the Ground: to attack and to defend, to annoy and resist his Enemy in every Attitude; and to employ in one or other of those Purposes every Limb, and Nerve, and Sinew, all the Faculties, and all the Strength of his whole Body: this is implied in the Word *Pancratiūm* [3]; and is the best Account of an Exercise, in which the Combatants were allowed (under certain Restrictions, hereafter mentioned) to make what use they thought proper of all the Arms that Nature had given them, both offensive and defensive, and of only those: for neither (as in the *Cæstus*) were their Hands and Fingers bound up or armed, nor their Legs and Feet prohibited from joining in the Battle, nor were they restrained from striking, as in the *Palé*. They were able notwithstanding, with no other Arms than these, so to mangle and injure one another, that it was thought proper to restrain them in some Points [4];

ἐβέλουσι ἃ μόνοις τοῖς νόμοις τῆς πάλης, ἀλλὰ ἔν τοις τῆς πυγμαῖας χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ νικῆσαι. Nicephorus Gregoras, apud Synes. περὶ ἐνυπνίου. See Fab. Ag. L. i. c. 9. Plut. in Sym. L. ii. Q. 4. ὅτι γὰρ μέμνηται τὸ Παγκράτιον ἐκ τε πυγμαῖας ἔν πάλης δῆλον.

[3] *Pancratiūm* is derived from Πᾶν and Κράτος.

[4] See Eur. 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

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left a Contest set on Foot merely for Victory and Honour should be disgraced by Murder or Malice, and the Combatants be provoked to encounter one another in a Manner more becoming Beasts than Men. An *Athlete* therefore was forbidden to kill his Adversary designedly, to dig or pluck out his Eyes, to tear him with his Teeth, or strike him under the Ribs with the Ends of his Fingers, as was done by *Damoxenus* to *Creugas*; notwithstanding which there was still Room enough left for them to exercise their Skill and Strength, their Courage and Resolution: I say Resolution, because it was a common Practice for a *Pancratiast* to choke the Strength and Skill of his Antagonist by twisting and entangling himself about his Legs and Arms; and to endeavour by Fatigue, and Pain, and Suffocation, to weary him into a Surrender of the Victory. All, or most of these Circumstances are to be met with in the Story of *Arrachion* [5], which happened in the fifty-fourth *Olympiad*. *Arrachion* was an eminent *Pancratiast*, who in the former *Olympiads* had already gained two *Crowns*, and was now to encounter with the last of his Antagonists for the third: but He having, perhaps, observed by his former Combats, in what the Superiority of *Arrachion* consisted, and thinking it better to prevent him, rushed in, and twining his Feet about him, seized him at the same Time by the Throat, which he griped with both his Hands. *Arrachion*, having no other Means either of disengaging himself or annoying

[5] Paus. L, viii. c. 40.

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an Enemy, who was thus got within him and had almost strangled him to Death, broke one of his Toes ; through the extreme Pain of which the other was compelled to resign the Victory, at the very Instant that *Arrachion* gave up the Ghost. *Arrachion*, though dead, was proclaimed Conqueror, and the *Crown of Olive* was accordingly set upon his Head.

In this short History we may observe the Love of Glory triumphing on the one hand over the Fear of Death, and yielding on the other hand to Pain, which *Milton* somewhere styles *perfect Misery*. And, notwithstanding the boasted *Apathy* of the *Stoicks*, Philosophy perhaps can find no *Anodyne* against the importunate and impatient Power of Pain, of so much Force and Efficacy as the Love of Glory and the Dread of Shame ; which for that Reason was always set in Opposition to it by *Lycurgus*. But as the Sense of Pain was implanted in Mankind by Nature for very wise Purposes, he endeavoured by the Force of Habit and Education to super-induce among his *Spartans* a Kind of second Nature, if not wholly insensible of Pain, yet not easily subdued by it. They were accordingly taught, even from their Infancy, to set it at Defiance ; to enter the Lists, as it were, and combat with it ; while at the same Time their Friends, their Relations, and their Parents, animated them to the Conflict, and recompensed their Victory with Praise and publick Honours. To this End many painful Disciplines were invented, and many Sorts of Contests encouraged in *Sparta*,

as rude and bloody as the *Cestus* or *Pancratiū*, which nevertheless their wise Legislator absolutely prohibited : for the Law of these two Exercises requiring that one of the Combatants should yield, either in Words or by stretching out his Hand or Finger, or by giving some other Testimony of his so doing ; *Lycurgus* [6] forbade his *Spartans* to engage in either of them, because (as he said himself) he would not have them accustom themselves to yield the Victory not even in Sport. The *Spartans*, undoubtedly, from the hardy and *Athletick* Course of Life into which he had put them, had a much fairer Prospect of conquering in these Contests than any other People of *Greece* ; but if they failed of the Victory (which even in this Kind of Warfare depends often upon Chance and Accident, to say nothing of the insurmountable Advantages which Nature bestows upon some Men in preference to all other, and which no Force of Art or Education can pretend to equal) they would then see themselves reduced to the sad Necessity, either of publicly disavowing the haughty Maxim of *Sparta*, and breaking her Laws, or of unprofitably losing a Life, which they might employ to much better Purposes in the Service of their Country [7]. The Laws of *Sparta* commanded a Man to die or conquer ; and punished with extreme Infamy those who saved themselves by Flight [8], which is only another Form of renouncing the Victory : for they were not only

[6] *Plut.* in *Apophth.*
Ageſilao.

[7] *Herod. L. vii.*

[8] *Plut.* in

excluded

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[9]
Benefic.
cernere,
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excluded from all Offices and Honours, but it was esteemed ignominious to make any Alliances with them by Marriage: it was also allowable for any Body that met with them to kick and strike them; and the miserable Wretches wandered up and down, exposed to the Scorn and Insults of their Countrymen; and bearing about the Marks of their Infamy, in the Coarseness and Colour of their Habits, and the Dejection of their Countenances rendered still more contemptible by being shaved only on one Side. *Lycurgus*, therefore, acted very consonantly with his own Laws, in forbidding his *Spartans* the *Cæstus* and *Pancratium*; and very consistently with his Views of rendering them a hardy and warlike People, in permitting and encouraging among them the Use of all the other Gymnastick Exercises. For these admitting a clear Decision of the Victory, without the hard Condition imposed on the Combatants in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratium*, of acting in their own Condemnation, allowed the Vanquished the secret Satisfaction of preserving his Mind and Spirit at least unconquered [9].

I need not perhaps inform the Reader, that the Combatants in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratium* were naked, &c.

[9] This is very well explained by the following Passage of *Seneca de Benefic. L. v. c. 3. Lacedæmonii vetant suos Pancratio aut Cæstu decernere, ubi inferiorem ostendit victi confessio. Cursor metam prior contingit, velocitate alium non animo antecessit; luctator ter abjectus perdidit palmam, non tradidit. Cum invictos esse Lacedæmonii cives suos magnè aestimarent, ab his certaminibus removerunt, in quibus victorem facit non iudex, non per se ipse exitus, sed vox cedentis et tradere jubentis.*

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and that the Restrictions just now mentioned extended also to the former, as far as the Nature of that Exercise would allow. As in these two Exercises it was necessary to pair the Combatants, this we are to suppose was done by Lot, in the same Manner as the *Wrestlers* were matched in the *Palé*, which has been described in a foregoing Section, and therefore need not be repeated here: but I cannot forbear inserting a remarkable Story of a *Samian Athlete* named *Ægles*, who having been dumb from his Birth came to the Use of Speech, by an Effect as sudden and surprizing as that related of the Son of *Cræsus*: take it in the Words of *Aulus Gellius*, upon whose Credit I shall leave it. *Sed et quispiam Samius Athleta, nomen illi fuit Αἴγλης, cum antea non loquens fuisset, ob similem dicitur causam loqui cœpisse. Nam quum in sacro certamine sortitio inter ipsum et adversarios non bona fide fieret, et sortem nominis falsam subjici animadvertisset; repente in eum, qui id faciebat, sese videre quid faceret, magnum inclamavit. Atque is oris vinculo solutus per omne inde vitæ tempus non turbidè neque adhæse locutus est.* These Words import, that *Ægles* being a Candidate for one of the *Four sacred Crowns*, and perceiving the Officer who was appointed to match the Combatants, fraudulently endeavouring to put a wrong Lot upon him, cried out to him with a loud Voice, that he saw what he was doing, from which Time the Band of his Tongue being loosed, he continued for the rest of his Life to speak distinctly and without Hesitation.

If

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If we compare the Words *non loquens*, in the former Part of this Passage, with those *non turbide neque adhæse*, in the latter Part, we may be induced to believe that *Ægles*, before this Accident, was not absolutely dumb, but had only a great Impediment and Hesitation in his Speech ; which will make the Story somewhat less wonderful : but whether in either Case the Cure was possible or not, I shall leave to the *Naturalists* to determine ; and observe, that the Fraud which produced in *Ægles* such a violent Agitation, as at once broke all the Impediments which tied up the Organs of his Speech, probably related to the *Lot* of the *Ephedrus*, or *Odd Man*, reserved to engage with one of the Conquerors : a *Lot* of the utmost Consequence, especially in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratium* ; in which a Combatant, though victorious, might yet have been so roughly treated, or so much spent, in his former Engagement as to be little able to contest the Victory with an Antagonist, who came fresh and unwounded to the Battle. *Pausanias*, indeed, speaks of a *Pancratiast* named *Sostratus*, who had an easy Method of obtaining the Victory : his Custom was, to seize fast hold of his Adversary's Fingers, which he broke, and never quitted his hold till they renounced the Contest. This Method gained him twelve *Isthmian* and *Nemean*, two *Pythian*, and three *Olympick* Crowns, together with a Statue at *Olympia*, and the Surname of *Acro-cherstes*.

SECTION XII.

Of the Horse-Races.

I HAVE now gone through the several *Exercifes* which are distinguished by the Name of *Gymnaſtick*; and which, as well from their Seniority, as their Precedence in the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*, have a Right in this *Difſertation* to take Place of the *Horse-Races*; though the Competitors in the latter were, generally ſpeaking, Men of higher Rank [1] and Conſideration than the *Athletæ*; and the Spectacle was in itſelf, perhaps, more pompous and magnificent.

There were properly but two Kinds of *Horse-Races* at *Olympia*, namely, the *Chariot-Race*, introduced into theſe *Games* in the 25th *Olympiad*, and the Race of *Riding-Horſes*, which was not admitted 'till the 33^d. All the reſt, which I ſhall take Notice of in their Order, were little elſe than Modifications of theſe two.

It appears from the Story of *Oenomaus* and *Pelops*, that the *Chariot-Race* was known in *Elis*, even before the Inſtitution of the *Olympick Games*; which are ſaid by ſome People to have been celebrated by the latter [2], upon the Occaſion of his Victory over *Oenomaus*. It may ſeem therefore a little ſtrange, that neither *Iphitus*, when he reſtored theſe *Games*, nor the *Eleans*, who after him had the Superintendency and Direction of them, ſhould not,

[1] *Iſocr. de Bigis.*

[2] See Section the Firſt.

before

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before the 25th *Olympiad*, think of reviving an Exercise so famous in the traditional History of their own Country. For it was in the *Chariot-Race* that *Pelops* [3], the great Hero of the *Eleans*, vanquished *Oenomaus*, and won *Hippodamia*, the fair Prize for which so many Princes before him had hazarded and lost their Lives : though possibly that Lady, like *Ecechiria* the Wife of *Iphitus*, may have only been an *allegorical* Personage, and no more be meant by that Story, than that *Pelops* conquered *Oenomaus* by his superior Skill in *Horsemanship* [4]. But whether this Conjecture be admitted, or whether *Hippodamia* be taken for the real Daughter of *Oenomaus*, so named, perhaps, by her Father, from a Science in which he took himself to excell, it tends either Way to prove the great Antiquity and Estimation of the *Chariot-Race* ; and brings us back to the Question, how it came to pass that it was admitted no earlier into the *Olympick Games*. This, in all likelihood, was owing principally to the great *Scarcity* of *Horses* throughout all *Greece*, not only at the Time of the Revival of those *Games*, but for many *Olympiads* after ; and in the next Place to the great Expence that attended the breeding and managing of *Horses* ; and lastly, perhaps, to the little Estimation in which the *Olympick Games* were held at their Re-institution. The *Olive-Crown* had not as yet acquired that Lustre, which afterwards attracted

[3] Pindar's *Olymp.* Ode 1.

[4] The Word *Hippodamia* is compounded of two *Greek* Words, and signifies the Art of taming or managing *Horses*.

the Ambition even of Kings, and engaged the principal Men of *Greece* in a Competition for an Honour, that was esteemed equal to a *Roman Triumph*.

That the *Greeks* were at all Times but ill provided with Cavalry, is manifest through the whole Course of their History. At the Siege of *Troy*, when they were able to bring into the Field an Army of an hundred Thousand Men, they appear to have had so few Horses, and to have known so little of the Usefulness of that noble Animal, as to employ them in no other Service than in drawing their Chariots. With these indeed they came thundering to the Battle; but with so little Order, and in so small a Number, that in the Equipage of a *Chariot*, it is visible, there was less Advantage and Convenience than Pomp and Ostentation. Horses were the Possessions only of the Rich and Great, who never failed, in the Enumeration of their Wealth and Treasures, to reckon up their *Horses* and their *Chariots*. This we learn not from *Homer* only and the Poets, who wrote of those early Times, or lived near them. *Isocrates* speaks the same Language, in an Oration [5] made to be spoken in a Court of Justice; and to prove the Nobility and Wealth of the Family of *Alcibiades*, who by his Mother's Side was descended from *Alcmæon*, uses no other Argument, than that *Alcmæon* was the first *Athenian* that won a Prize in the *Chariot-Race* at the *Olympick Games*.

[5] De Bigis.

After

[6]

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After the *Trojan War*, and even after the Restitution of the *Olympick Games*, the same Scarcity of Horses is observable in *Greece*. For neither did the *Lacedæmonians*, the most warlike People of *Greece*, nor any of the *Peloponnesians*, as *Pausanias* [6] informs us, know much of the Use of Horses, 'till after the two *Messenian Wars*: from which Time the former, as they began to extend their Arms beyond the *Isthmus*, grew sensible of their Want of Cavalry; and accordingly took Care to instruct their Youth in Horsemanship. Nor were the *Athenians*, the richest and most powerfull People of *Greece*, better furnished with Cavalry than the *Lacedæmonians* their Rivals. To remedy this Evil, and encourage the Breed and Management of Horses, *Solon*, indeed, instituted an Order of Citizens in his Commonwealth, which consisted of such as were of Ability to furnish out a *Horse*; and to these he allotted the second Rank in the State. Yet we find that at the Battle of *Marathon* [7], though they were to encounter with an Enemy, whose chief Strength consisted in their Cavalry, they were utterly destitute of Horse [8]: and even after the *Persians* were entirely driven out of *Greece*, which may be reckoned the most glorious Period of that Commonwealth, their whole Number of Horse, for some Time, amounted to no more than Three hundred.

From this remarkable *Scarcity* of *Horses* among the *Grecians* may be shewn, at the same Time, the Reason

[6] Lib. iv. [7] Herod. L. vi. [8] Potter's Antiq. Vol. ii.

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of their being introduced so late into the *Olympick Games*; and the Wisdom of introducing them. *Greece* was in want of Horses: it was therefore expedient to do something to procure them: and no Method was like to be so effectual as the raising an Emulation among particular States and People, by rewarding with publick Honours those who should excell in the breeding and managing of Horses. With this View then, in all likelihood, was the *Olympick Olive* proposed, as the only *Prize*, perhaps, for which the several Nations of *Greece* would equally contend: and the *Olympick Hippodrome* was opened as a Theatre, where the several Competitors might exhibit their Pretensions; and prove their Merit in the Presence of all *Greece*. The *Olympick Games* had now subsisted near an hundred Years from the Time of their Re-institution by *Iphitus*, not to mention their more remote, though fabulous Original; and consequently began to be looked upon with Veneration for their Antiquity, and frequented for the Sake of the Spectacle: which, consisting of almost all the *Gymnastick Exercises*, drew to *Olympia*, not only a great Number of Candidates for the *Olive-Crown*, but a Multitude of Spectators also from all Parts of *Greece*; who, beholding with Pleasure and Admiration, and rewarding with Applause the Ardor and Emulation of those who contended for the *Prize*, insensibly contributed to raise the Value of the *Olympick Chaplet*; and kindled in each other a like Ambition to obtain it. Upon the Introduction, therefore, of the *Chariot-Race*, the Rich and Noble,

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Noble, who are also fond of Glory, as appears from their Ostentation and Love of Flattery, with Pride and Pleasure laid hold of an Occasion, which presented them with the Means of obtaining what they could not help admiring with the Vulgar, without engaging them at the same Time in a Competition with them [9]. *Alexander the Great* would have contended in the *Foot-Race* at *Olympia*, could he have had Kings for his Antagonists. But, as I have observed, there was no room to object against the Meanness of the Competitors in the *Horse-Races*; in the List of whose Conquerors are accordingly to be found Kings of all those Nations of *Greece* that were governed by Kings, as also the Men of the greatest Eminency, both for Wealth and Power, in those Commonwealths, whose Liberty and Independence rendered their chief Citizens equal, if not superior to those Kings. Of this last Number was *Alcibiades*; who perceiving (as his Son informs us in an Oration made for him by [1] *Isocrates*) that the *Olympick Games* were held in great Honour and Admiration by all *Greece*; and that the Glory acquired in those Assemblies, where every *Grecian* was accustomed to display his Wealth, and Strength, and Knowledge, redounded not to the Victor only but to his Country also, resolved to produce himself at *Olympia*: but, considering at the same Time, that in the *Gymnastick Exercises* the Generality of the Combatants were meanly born, more meanly educated, and Inhabitants, perhaps, of mean and

[9] Plut. in Apopth.

[1] Isocr. de Bigis.

inconfi-

inconsiderable Cities, he refused upon that Account to engage in those Combats (in which, however, he was as well qualified to succeed as any one, both from Nature and Practice) and entered himself a Candidate for the *Equestrian Crown*: to which no Man of a low and poor Condition could pretend. And upon this Occasion (says [2] *Plutarch*) he outshone not only all his Competitors, but all who either before or since contended for that *Crown*, in the Number and Magnificence of his *Chariots*, and in the Victories obtained by them: for he brought at once seven *Chariots* into the *Course*, and carried off at the same Time the first, second, and fourth *Prize*, according to *Thucydides* [3]; or third, according to *Isocrates* [4] and *Euripides*; the last of whom composed an Ode upon the Conqueror, Part of which is quoted by *Plutarch*. The Poet in this Ode compliments *Alcibiades* upon his having gained at once *three Prizes*; a Thing, says he, which no *Greek* [5] had ever done before him. He takes Notice, likewise, of another Circumstance attending these Victories, which may seem, perhaps, to derogate from the Glory of the Conqueror, namely, that these Victories cost *Alcibiades* neither Trouble nor Danger.

[2] In Alex.

[3] L. vi.

[4] De Bigis.

[5] The Poet by this must mean, that *Alcibiades* was the only one, that ever gained at the same Time *three Prizes* in one and the same *Exercise*, as the *Chariot-Race*, for Example; for there are many Instances of People, who gained in the same *Olympiad* *three Crowns* in *three* different *Exercises*. See *Pindar's Olymp. Ode 5.* and the former Section about the *Foot-Race*.

And

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And this leads me to consider another Point, from which it will more plainly appear that the *Eleans*, in introducing the *Chariot-Race* into the *Olympick Games*, had the Service of the Publick principally in View ; for as they offered the *Olympick Olive* to the Wealthy, who alone were able to support the great Expence, that necessarily attends the breeding, keeping, and managing Horses, so did they wisely make the Conditions of obtaining it as easy to them as possible, by exempting them from the *Trouble* and *Danger* of driving their own *Chariots*, hinted at by *Euripides* in the Ode above-mentioned.

No one, however, was prohibited from driving his own *Chariot* ; which in all likelihood, at the first Revival of these Races, was more practised, than the contrary Custom of leaving it to the Management of others. The Office of a *Charioteer* was anciently far from being dishonourable ; and the Skill of managing Horses, which were then used only in *Chariots*, was reckoned among the Accomplishments of a Hero : but when *Chariots* came to be laid aside in War, which seems to have happened soon after the heroick Ages [6], the Usefulness, and consequently the Reputation of that Art began to diminish by Degrees ; whence it soon came to be lodged in inferior Hands. And it was by no means the Business of the *Eleans* to ennoble it once more, by obliging the Masters of the Horses to contend in Person, and add to the Trouble and Expence of breeding and maintaining them,

[6] Potter's Ant. Vol. ii. p. 16.

the subordinate and painful Office of managing and breaking them. This would have been clogging the Conditions, and would have disgusted some, and excluded others from being *Candidates* for a *Crown*, which they might have been willing to deserve, but unable to obtain *in Person*. Such, at least, would have been the Situation of all the *States*, and *Cities*, and *Ladies*, who contended *by Proxy* in the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and received the Honours due to that Ambition which they were intended to excite; and which was as beneficial to the Publick in the Women as in the Men. *Cynisca* [7], a *Lacedæmonian* Lady of a manly Spirit, was the first who gave this Example to her Sex; encouraged to it by *Agefilaus* her Brother, King of *Sparta*; who observing some of his Countrymen overvaluing themselves upon the Number of their Horses, and the Victories obtained by them at *Olympia*, prevailed with his Sister to shew them, by offering herself a Candidate for the *Equestrian Crown*, that they were more indebted for those Victories to their Money than their Merit. This Precedent was afterwards followed by many *Macedonian* Ladies; which shews, at the same Time, the Prevalency of the Fashion, the Extensiveness of its Influence, and the Policy of the *Eleans*, in forming so comprehensive a Scheme, and opening, by that means, a Field for the Ambition of the *Women*; who contributed equally with the Men to the promoting their principal Design in admitting *Chariots* into the *Olympick Games*.

[7] Paus. Lacon. Plut. in Agefilao.

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If, notwithstanding what has been just now said, to shew the Wisdom and Policy of the *Eleans*, in exempting the Owners of the Horses from contending in Person, and yet bestowing the *Crown* upon them, any one should be still inclined to think, that the chief Honour of an *Equestrian* Victory ought, in Justice, rather to be conferred on the *Charioteer* who won it, than upon the Owner of the *Chariot*, I shall desire him to take in Consideration the following piece of History, told by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Alexander*.

Philip King of *Macedon* [8], having made himself Master of *Potidaea*, received in the same Day three Messengers: The first of whom brought him an Account of a great Victory, obtained by his General *Parmenio* over the *Illyrians*: The second told him, that he was proclaimed Conqueror in the Race of *Riding-Horses* at *Olympia*: And the third acquainted him with the Birth of *Alexander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Philip* was mightily delighted with these three pieces of News, without saying which of them gave him the greatest Pleasure. The first Event, undoubtedly, and the third, tended more directly to the Furtherance of his main Design; which was no less than that of enslaving all *Greece*, and of employing afterwards her united Forces to conquer, for his Glory, the Empire of the *Persians*. The second was less conducive to those Views, but less pernicious also to his Country. Let the Reader determine, upon which of the Three *Philip* had

[8] *Plut. in Alex.*

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most Reason to value himself : and whether any of them, according to the strict Rule of Justice contended for by those who object to the Proceeding of the *Eleans*, ought to have been placed to his Account ? For the first he was indebted to *Parmenio* and his Army ; for the second to his *Rider* and his *Horse* : and his Wife is shrewdly suspected of having helped him to the third.

What I have been saying concerning the *Victors* in the *Chariot-Race*, will hold equally to those, who conquered in the Race of *Riding-Horses*, *Mules*, &c. in which latter, the Conditions of obtaining the *Crown* of Victory were left as large as in the former, and are to be justified upon the same Principles.

But after all, it may seem impertinent to use many Arguments with an *English* Reader, to convince him of the Wisdom and Justice of a Proceeding which is every Day practised amongst us ; who have also our *Horse-Races* and *Prizes* for the *Victor*, established originally with the same View, as those of which I am now speaking, and under some of the same Regulations : particularly with regard to the bestowing the *Prize*, which with us, as with the *Grecians*, is conferred upon the *Owner* of the *Horse* that wins the Race, and not upon the *Rider*. If this be an Injustice, the *Jockeys* at *Newmarket* have great Reason to complain ; in whose Opinion, I dare say, a *Piece of Plate* of a *hundred Guineas* is preferable to the Glory of a thousand *Olympick Crowns*. I will not say their Masters are in the same Way of Thinking, nor make any farther

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Comparison between the Customs observed in the *Horse-Races* at *Olympia* and those in Fashion at *Newmarket*: I shall only take Notice, that no kind of Fraud or Violence was allowed of in the former; the Competitors in which contended for Glory only: an Object seldom heartily pursued by those, who are fordid enough either to use or connive at the Use of Fraud. To return to the *Chariot-Race*.

But though the *Master* of the *Horses*, for the Reasons above mentioned, was proclaimed the *Conqueror*, yet had the *Horses* [9] their Share of Honour, and were crowned amid the Congratulations and Applauses of the whole Assembly. They who are acquainted with *Homer* and the Poets, will not be surprized at the Honours thus imparted to these noble Animals, whose Nature was by them esteemed not unworthy of a divine Original; and whose Ardour and Emulation in the *Course* seemed to express a Sense of Glory almost human, and justify the Exhortations and Expostulations addressed to them in those ancient Writings.

A *Crown* was also given to the *Charioteer*, to whose Skill and Courage the Victory was always in great Measure owing. I say Skill and Courage, because both the one and the other were absolutely necessary to finish hap-

[9] Pindar's Olymp. Ode 13. Plut. Sym. L. ii. Q. 4. Pauf. L. vi.

— τιμὰς δὲ ἃ ἀνέεσσι ἔλλαχον ἵπποι,
Οἱ σφίσιν ἐξ ἱερῶν Σερανήφοροι ἦνθον ἀγάνων.

Theoc. Eid. xvi.

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pily a *Course*, which the many short *Turnings* round the *Pillars*, and the Number of *Chariots* which sometimes ran together, rendered extremely difficult and dangerous.

To explain the Nature of these Difficulties and Dangers, as well as some Particulars relating to the *Horse Races*, I shall here insert a Description of the *Olympick Hippodrome*, or *Horse-Course*, taken from *Pausanias*, L. vi. which is as follows [1].

As you pass out of the *Stadium*, by the *Seat* of the *Hellanioticks*, into the Place appointed for the *Horse-Races*, you come to the *Barrier*, (*Ἀφῆσις*) where the *Horses* and *Chariots* rendezvous before they enter into the *Course*. This *Barrier* in its Figure resembles the *Prow* of a *Ship*, with the *Rostrum*, or *Beak*, turned towards the *Course*. The other End, which joins on to the *Portico* of *Agaptus* (so named from him who built it, see the preceding Book, C. xv.) is very broad. At the Extremity of the *Rostrum*, or *Beak*, over a *Bar* that runs across the *Entrance*, (*ἐπὶ καύονος*) is placed a Figure of a *Dolphin* [2] in *Brass*. On the two

[1] The *French* Translator of *Pausanias* hath inserted a Draught of the *Aphesis*, or *Barrier* here described, designed by the Chevalier *Follard*, with which I would willingly have obliged the Reader, had I not, by comparing it with *Pausanias*, discovered so many Mistakes in it, that I thought the following Description would give him a clearer Idea of the *Barrier* and *Hippodrome* of *Olympia*, without that Draught, than with it.

[2] The *Dolphin* here is a Symbol of *Neptune*, surnamed *Hippius* or *Equestrian*, for his having produced a *Horse* by striking the Earth with his *Trident*, according to the Fable: without recollecting this Circumstance, the Reader might be surprized to meet with the Figure of a

placed

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Sides of this *Barrier*, each of which is above four hundred Feet in Length, are built *Stands*, or *Lodges*, as well for the *Riding-Horses* as the *Chariots*, which are distributed by *Lot* among the Competitors in those *Races*: and before all these *Lodges* is stretched a *Cable*, from one End to the other, to serve the Purpose of a *Barrier* (ὄσπληγγος). About the Middle of the *Prow* is erected an *Altar*, built of unburnt Brick, which every *Olympiad* is plaistered over with fresh Mortar; and upon the Altar stands a *Brazen Eagle*, which spreads out its Wings to a great Length. This *Eagle*, by Means of a Machine, which is put in Motion by the *President of the Horse-Races*, is made to mount up at once into the Air to such a Height, as to become visible to all the Spectators: and at the same Time the *Brazen Dolphin* before-mentioned sinks to the Ground. Upon that Signal the Cables, stretched before the *Lodges* on either Side of the *Portico of Agaptus*, are first let loose, and the Horses there stationed move out and advance till they come over-against the *Lodges* of those who drew the *second Lot*, which are then likewise opened. The same Order is observed by all the rest; and in this Manner they proceed through the *Beak*, or *Rostrum*; before which they are drawn up in one Line, or Front, ready to begin the Race, and make Trial of the Skill of the Charioteers and the Fleetness of the Horses.

On that Side of the *Course*, which is formed by a Terrace raised with Earth, and which is the longest of the *Dolphin* in a Horse-Course. The *Eagle* is a known Symbol of *Jupiter*, to whom the *Olympick Games* were consecrated.

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two Sides, near to the Passage that leads out of the *Course* across the Terrace, stands an Altar of a round Figure, dedicated to *Taraxippus*, the *Terror of the Horses*, as his Name imports ; of whom more hereafter. The other Side of the *Course* is formed not by a Terrace of Earth, but a Hill of a moderate Height, at the End of which is erected a Temple, consecrated to *Ceres Chamyne*, whose *Priestesses* has the Privilege of seeing the *Olympick Games*.

These are the most remarkable Particulars which *Pausanias* has thought fit to give us, relating to the *Olympick Hippodrome* or *Horse-Course* : — and though from these we may be able to form a general Idea of its Figure, yet are there others no less necessary to be known, for the clear understanding the Nature of the Races ; such as the *Length* and *Breadth* of the *Course*, the two *Metas* or *Goals*, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made their several *Turnings*, with the Distance between them ; all which we are left to make out by Conjecture only.

The *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, of which there are yet some Traces remaining, is said by *Wheeler* to have been about five hundred and fifty ordinary Paces long, and about an hundred and twenty broad, and to have been anciently adorned with several excellent Ornaments, of which, says he, only three Pillars remain for me to give an Account of.

The first of these is a Pillar (or rather an Obelisk) of *Ægyptian Granite*, consisting of one Stone, about fifty Feet long, erected on a Pedestal of eight or ten Feet above

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above Ground.—On the North Side of the Pedestal is a *Basso-relievo*, expressing the Manner how this Pillar was set up: and another below that representing the *Hippodrome*, as it was before that Pillar was set up, with the Manner of their *Horse-Races*. “It appears (to make use of his own Words) with *four* principal Pillars, with a vacant Place in the Middle (where *this* is now erected) which made the Feet all equally distant from each other. The ordinary *Stadiums* of the Ancients had but *three* Pillars, being but an hundred and twenty-five Paces long, which is a great deal shorter than this. From the first Pillar they *started their Horses*, having the Word ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΕ, or *Courage*, written on the Pillar given them. At the middle they were called upon to make haste, by the Word ΣΠΕΥΔΕ, which was written also on the Pillar. At the last they were to *return*, riding about the Pillar on the farther End; therefore it had the Word ΚΑΜΨΟΝ engraven on it. By this *Basso-relievo* is expressed the Running of the Horses, and the Emperor standing in the Middle *crowning* the Victor. But what *that* held up by four Pillars, and the other single round Pillar were for, we could not conjecture, unless only for Ornament.” *Wheeler’s Travels*, L. ii. p. 183.

Whether the *Olympick Hippodrome* was so long and so wide as this of *Constantinople*, I will not determine; but that it was considerably longer than an ordinary *Stadium*, is evident: for as it appears from the *Basso-relievo* above

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described by *Wheeler*, and indeed from Medals, and many other Remains of Antiquity, that there were two Pillars placed towards the two Extremities of the *Hippodrome*, to serve as *Metas*, or *Goals*, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made several *Turnings*, a large Space of Ground must necessarily have been left beyond each of those Pillars, that the *Horses*, and especially the *Chariots*, might have sufficient Room to make their *Turnings*, without running against the *Pillars*, or falling foul on one another: and this Space must have been large enough to admit of a great Number of *Chariots*. It has already been said, that *Alcibiades* for his own Share brought at one Time seven *Chariots*, and certainly he was not without Competitors to dispute the Crown with him. *Sophocles*, in a Description of a *Chariot-Race*, which I shall insert at the End of this Section, speaks of *Ten*, and *Pindar* of no less than *Forty Chariots*, contending at one and the same Time. If therefore in a Space of one hundred and twenty-five *Paces*, the Measure of an ordinary *Stadium*, Room enough be left beyond the *Two Pillars* for a large Number of *Chariots* to pass, the Length remaining for the *Race* will be much too short. A proportionable Space must likewise have been left between the *Pillars*, which divided the *Course* in the Middle, and the two Sides of the *Hippodrome*.

The *Circus Maximus* (as described by *Dion. Hal.*) in which the *Romans* exhibited their *Chariot-Races*, was an oval Building of three *Stadia*, or eighteen hundred Feet in Length,

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Length, and four *Plethra*, or four hundred Feet in Breadth, with a Row of *Pillars*, *Obelisks*, &c. running down the Middle; the first and last of which *Pillars* were the *Metas*, or *Goals*, round which the *Chariots* and *Horses* made their *Turnings*; but the *Romans* never suffered more than four *Chariots*, which they called a *Missus*, to start at one Time; and of these *Missus* or *Matches* they had commonly twenty-four, and sometimes many more, in one Day. Now, if it be considered that in the *Grecian Games* a much greater Number of *Chariots* frequently ran together, we may reasonably suppose their *Hippodromes* were at least as capacious as the *Circus Maximus* at *Rome*: the Dimensions of which, however, were much inferior to those of the *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, which, according to *Wheeler*, was seven and twenty hundred and fifty Feet long, and six hundred broad, taking a Pace to be equal to five Feet.

The Length of the *Course*, by which I mean the Distance between the two *Metas*, or *Goals*, is another Point that can be settled only by Conjecture. Had *Wheeler* set down the Distances of those *Pillars*, which he saw standing in the *Hippodrome* at *Constantinople*, it would have helped us much in this Inquiry: but this I shall refer to the ensuing *Section*, and content myself at present with observing, that both the *Chariots* and *Horses* ran several Times up and down the *Course*, and consequently made many *Turnings* round the *Pillars* erected at the two Extremities. *Pausanias* informs us, that in the *Olympick Hip-*

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podrome, near that *Pillar* called *Nyffē*, which I take to be that erected at the lower End of the *Course*, stood a Brazen Statue of *Hippodamia*, holding in her Hand a sacred *Fillet*, or *Diademe* (ταυρία) prepared to bind the Head of *Pelops* for his Victory over *Oenomaus* : and it is probable, that all the Space between the Pillars was filled with Statues or Altars, as that in the *Hippodrome* of *Constantinople* seems to have been. Here, at least, stood the *Tripod*, or *Table*, on which were placed the *Olive-Crowns* and the Branches of *Palm* destined for the Victors, as shall be shewn hereafter.

From this Account it may easily be conceived, that in a *Chariot-Race* both the *Chariot* and the *Driver* were exposed to many Accidents, arising from the Nature of the *Course*. For as they were obliged to make several *Turnings* (about two and twenty in all) round the two *Pillars*, so did every *Charioteer* endeavour to approach as near them as possible, in order to lessen the *Compass* he was obliged to take. A Number of *Chariots* pushing all at once for this Advantage, which often gave the Victory, must necessarily have been in Danger either of running against the *Pillar*, or falling foul upon one another, and in the Tumult many must have been broken or overturned, and their Drivers thrown out. This was the Fate of forty at one Time, as may be seen in an Ode of *Pindar* [3], where the Poet fails not to congratulate the *Conqueror*, upon his having singly escaped such a Mis-

[3] *Pindar's Pyth. Ode 5.* see the Scholiast.

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fortune out of so great a Number of Competitors. It appears also in the same Ode, that the *Victor* was not insensible of the Singularity of his good Fortune; as an Acknowledgment for which he consecrated his *Chariot* to *Apollo*, in whose *Treasury* at *Parnassus* it was lodged, uninjured and entire, says the Poet, as when it came out of the Workman's Hands.

And indeed, when we consider the *Form* of the *Chariots*, the Attitude of the *Drivers*, the Rapidity of the Motion, and the Accidents just now mentioned, arising from the Nature of the *Course* and the Number of *Chariots* that frequently ran together, we shall wonder less at their being thrown out of their *Chariots* and put in Danger of their Lives, than at their maintaining their Posts amid so many Difficulties, and coming off with Safety and Success. These *Chariots*, by some Figures of them upon ancient Medals, &c. seem to have been very low, open behind, but closed up before and on the Sides, with a Kind of *Parapet*, which was sometimes enriched with various Sorts of Ornaments. There does not appear to have been any *Seat* for the *Driver*, who is therefore always represented *standing*, and leaning forward to the *Horses*. They had but two Wheels, and consequently the fore Part of them must have been supported by the Horses, which inevitably rendered their Motion very unequal, and made it so difficult for the Charioteer to keep upon his Legs, that nothing but a long Course of Practice could insure a Man from falling in such a Situation. Which,

therefore, is the most astonishing, the Folly, or the Vanity of *Nero*?

This great Emperor [4], great I mean in Power and Dominion, but with regard to all the Objects of his Ambition, very little and contemptible, would needs shew his Skill in the Management of a *Chariot*. He chose indeed the noblest Theatre, and offered himself a Candidate for the *Olympick Crown*. That his Appearance might be no less extraordinary than his Ambition, and in some Measure proportionable to the Majesty of an Emperor of the World, he entered the *Hippodrome* at *Olympia* [5] in a *Chariot* drawn by *ten Horses*, which he undertook to drive himself, notwithstanding, says *Suetonius*, he had formerly, in a certain Poem of his, censured *Mithridates* for the same Thing. But the Event was by no means answerable, either to the Flattery of his Courtiers, or the Vanity of his own Expectations. He was thrown out of his *Chariot*, to the great Hazard of his Life [6]; and though he was put into it again, he found himself unable to finish the Race, and desisted. Notwithstanding which he was proclaimed *Conqueror*, and honoured with the *Olympick Crown*. To return the Complement, at his Departure he presented the *Hellanodicks*, or *Judges of the Games*, with the Sum of 8000*l.* [7] and all *Greece* with her Liberty. A Present that would have done him infinitely

[4] Xiph. & Suet. in *Nerone*. [5] Suet. *ibid.* [6] Xiph. Suet. [7] Dion. in *Nerone*. 250,000 Drachmas, or 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* See *Arbutb. Tables*.

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more Honour than an *Olympick Victory*, or indeed than any Victory, had it been frankly and generously bestowed, and not paid down as the Price of Adulation; and of a Complaisance so mean and servile, as shews the *Grecians* to have been as incapable of Liberty as they were unworthy of it. For the *Equestrian Crown* was not the only Thing with which the *Eleans* complemented *Nero*: they broke, in Obedience to his Orders, the most sacred Laws [8] of their Institution, and put off the Celebration of the *Olympick Games* for a whole Year, to wait his coming into *Greece*; as if their Business, says *Philostratus*, had been to sacrifice to *Nero* instead of *Jupiter*. What followed after helps us admirably to discover the true Value of that Liberty which a Tyrant bestows: and the Vanity and Insincerity of those Praises and Honours that are extorted from Slaves and Flatterers. *Nero*, before his Departure, pillaged and wasted *Greece* [9], notwithstanding his pretended Grant of Liberty; put many People to Death, and confiscated the Estates of others: and the *Eleans* on their part, to revoke as much as in them lay the Honours they had conferred on *Nero*, left out of their publick Register [1] that *Olympiad*, and that alone. *Galba* [2] afterwards demanded of the *Hellandicks*, as a Debt to the Crown, the eight thousand Pounds, with which *Nero* had rewarded their Partiality in adjudging to him the *Equestrian Crown*.

[8] Philostr. L. v. [9] Xiph. in *Nero*. [1] See Scaliger ad Euseb ad Num. MMLXXII. [2] Xiph. in *Nero*.

Upon

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Upon the Day of the Race [3], the *Chariots* at a certain Signal marched out of the *Lodges* above described, and entering the *Course* according to the Order before settled by Lot, were there drawn up in a *Line*; but whether *a-breast*, or *one behind another*, is a Question, it seems, among the Learned. *Eustathius* (in his Comment upon [4] *Homer*) says, the Ancients were of Opinion that they did not stand in *one Front*; because it is evident that he who had the first Lot had a great Advantage over the other *Charioteers*. The Moderns, I believe, are unanimously of the contrary Opinion; and can shew, that the Reason assigned by *Eustathius* makes not in the least against the Method of ranging the *Chariots* all *a-breast*; in which Order the *Charioteer*, who stood *first*, had so clear an Advantage over his Competitors, as to make it necessary to dispose their Places by Lot. For as they were to turn round a *Pillar* erected at the farther End of the *Course*, he who had the *first Place on the Left Hand* was nearer to that *Pillar*, than those who were ranged on his Right Hand; had a less Circle to make upon the *Turn*, and consequently was not obliged to run so great a Compass of Ground. The Advantage, therefore, of the *first Place*, and the Disadvantage of the *last*, which was always increased in Proportion to the Number of Chariots that contended together, appeared so considerable to the learned *Montfaucon*, that he seems to think the Success of every *Charioteer* must have depended entirely upon his Lot. And indeed,

[3] Pauf. L. vi.

[4] See Pope's *Homer*, *Iliad* xxiii. ver. 425.

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had they been to *turn* but *once*, or could it be supposed that they maintained throughout the whole Race the same Order in which they were first arranged by Lot, the Place could not have been indifferent with regard to the *Victory*; but as on the contrary they were obliged to make *twelve Turnings* round that *Pillar*, and *ten* round another erected at the hither End of the *Course*, the Advantage of the one, and the Disadvantage of the other, must have been liable to be lost and recovered many Times in the Race, by the Skill of the *Charioteers*, the Swiftneſs of the Horſes, or ſome of thoſe Accidents already mentioned. It ſhould alſo be conſidered, that though the *Charioteer*, who was placed *fiſt* on the *Left Hand*, had ſome Advantage over the reſt by being nearer the *Pillar*, yet he muſt have oftentimes been ſtraitened for Room upon the *Turn*, eſpecially if hard preſſed by his Competitors, and conſequently have been driven ſo near the *Pillar*, as to endanger the breaking or overturning his Chariot. In avoiding therefore this Danger, and in making theſe *Turnings* in as little a Compaſs as poſſible, conſiſted the chief Excellence of a *Charioteer*: as is evident from the large Inſtructions which old *Neflor* [5] gives his Son *Antilochus* upon that Head; and from what *Theocritus* tells us of the Education of *Hercules* [6], whoſe ſuppoſed Father *Amphitryon* himſelf took the Pains to teach him the Management of the *Chariot*, though he left all his other Exerciſes to be taught him by other Maſters.

[5] Homer's II, xxiii.

[6] Idyll, xxiv. ver. 117.

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But fond *Amphitryon*, with a Father's Zeal,
Skilful himself to guide the rapid Wheel,
In his own Art instructs his God-like Heir,
And teaches how to rule the whirling Carr;
How at the *Turn* with nicest Heed to roll,
Nor break the grazing Axle on the *Goal*.

It was however as much the Business of a *Charioteer* to approach as near as possible to this *Pillar*, as it was to avoid running foul upon it. To this Point therefore as to a Centre they all tended; and let any one imagine what a Noise, what a Bustle and Confusion, ten, twenty, and sometimes forty *Chariots* [7] must have made bursting, at the *Sound of a Trumpet* [8], all together from the *Barrier*! and pressing all to the same Point! What Skill and Courage in the *Charioteers*! What Obedience, what Strength and Swiftneſs in the *Horses*! What Ardour and Emulation in both must have been requisite to maintain the Advantages, which their own Lots had given them, or to surmount those of their Antagonists!

[9] Seeſt thou not how, when from the Goal they start,
The youthfull *Charioteers* with beating Heart
Rush to the Race, and panting scarcely bear
Th' Extremes of fev'riſh Hope and chilling Fear;
Stoop to the Reins, and lash with all their Force:
The flying Chariot kindles in the Course.

[7] Pindar.

[8] Soph. *Electra*.

[9] Virg. *Georg.* iii.

And

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And now a-low, and now aloft they fly,
As born thro' Air, and seem to touch the Sky.
No Stop, no Stay ; but Clouds of Sand arise,
Spurn'd and cast backward on the Follower's Eyes :
The Hindmost blows the Foam upon the First :
Such is the Love of Praise, an honourable Thirst !

MR. DRYDEN.

But this was not all ; they were to meet with more Difficulties, and of another kind, in the middle of the Course, and contend with the *Terrors of a Deity*, who sometimes snatched the Victory from him, who seemed to have carried it away from his Competitors. The Name of this *Deity* was *Taraxippus*, a Name given him from his Office ; which was to scare and terrify the Horses, who accordingly as they passed by his Altar, which was of a round Form, and erected at the farther End of the *Course*, were wont to take Fright, says *Pausanias* [1], without any apparent Cause : And so great was their Consternation, that, regarding no longer the Rein, the Whip, or the Voice of their Master, they frequently broke and overturned the *Chariot*, and wounded the *Driver*. The *Charioteers* therefore failed not to offer Sacrifices to *Taraxippus*, in order to deprecate his Wrath, and render him favourable to them.

I shall not trouble the Readers with the various Opinions relating to this pretended Deity and his Terrors, which are to be met with in *Pausanias*. I am apt

[1] Lib. vi. c. 20.

to believe, with the *French* Translator of that Author, that (if, as *Pausanias* insinuates, there was any thing extraordinary in this matter) the Fright of the Horses was owing to some Artifice of those, who presided at the *Olympick Games*, and who (as he farther remarks) in order to make the Victory more glorious, were willing to make the Way to it more hazardous and difficult.

But though the old Saying, *The more Danger, the more Honour*, may seem to countenance this Remark of the *French Abbé*, ought we not rather to suppose that the *Eleans* (whose Views in every Part of this Institution seem to have been directed to some wise Purpose) intended by these Terrors to exclude the Competition of all those, whose Horses were not thoroughly *broke*, and taught not to be alarmed at any sudden Noise or unusual Appearance? A Quality in Horses at least as valuable, both for Service and Pleasure, as *Fleetness*, or any Accomplishment acquired in the *Manage*.

I cannot help observing by the way, that the *Grecians* must have been credulous and superstitious even to Stupidity, and the *Eleans* consummate Masters in all the juggling Tricks and Artifices of Imposture, for a Fraud of this Nature to have been carried on for so long a Time, and in so publick a Place as the *Hippodrome* of *Olympia*, in the Name of a Divinity; and conducted with so much Secrecy and Success as to bring Votaries to his Altar with Offerings and Supplications: But *Olympia* was not the only Place in which this imaginary Deity was adored; there

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there was likewise a *Taraxippus* in the *Isthmian Hippodrome*, as *Pausanias* informs us ; who adds, that in *Nemea* indeed there was no Deity concerned in terrifying the Horses, but then there was a *Rock*, standing near the *Pillar* round which they turned, of the *Colour of Fire*, with the Brightness of which they were wont to be as much terrified as with that of Fire itself: but he observes at the same Time, that the Terror, which seized the Horses at the Sight of this *Rock*, was much inferior to that excited by the *Taraxippus* of *Olympia*. The same Author, speaking afterwards (L. x.) of the Terrors with which the Horses were sometimes seized in the *Pythick Hippodrome*, ascribes them to *Fortune*, whom he styles the Dispenser of Good and Evil in all human Affairs, and to whom he seems to have Recourse merely because there was no *Taraxippus* at *Delphi*, nor any terrifying Object, like the *fiery Rock* at *Nemea*, to help him to a Solution in a Case, which nothing but Ignorance and Superstition could consider as extraordinary.

Sophocles, [2] in his Tragedy of *Electra*, hath given us a very noble Description of a *Chariot-Race* in all its Forms, a Translation of which I shall insert in this Place, as well for the Entertainment of the Reader, as for the sake of verifying what has been said above by so unexceptionable an Authority.

[2] Ver. 700, &c.

A Def-

A Description of a Chariot-Race.

When, on the *second* Day, in Order next
 Came on the Contest of the rapid Carr,
 As o'er the *Phocian* Plain the orient Sun
 Shot his impurpled Beams, the *Pythick Course*
Orestes enter'd, circled with a Troop
 Of *Charioteers*, his bold *Antagonists*.
 One from *Achaia* came, from *Sparta* one,
 Two from the *Libyan* Shores, well practis'd each
 To rule the whirling Carr; with these, the fifth,
Orestes vaunting his *Thessalian* Mares.
Ætolia sent a sixth, with youthfull Steeds
 In native Gold array'd. The next in Rank
 From fair *Magnesia* sprung; of *Thrace* the eighth
 His Snow-white Coursers from *Thesprotia* drove:
 From Heav'n-built *Athens* the ninth Hero came,
 A huge *Bæotian* the tenth Chariot fill'd.
 These, when the *Judges* of the Games by *Lot*
 Had fix'd their Order, and arranged the Carrs,
 All, at the *Trumpet's* Signal, all at once
 Burst from the *Barrier*, all together chear'd
 Their fiery Steeds, and shook the floating Reins.
 Soon with the Din of rattling Carrs was fill'd
 The sounding *Hippodrome*, and Clouds of Dust
 Ascending, tainted the fresh Breath of Morn.
 Now mix'd, and press'd together on they drove,
 Nor spar'd the smarting Lash, impatient each

To

Vor

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To clear his *Chariot*, and outstrip the Throng
Of clashing Axles, and short-blowing Steeds,
That panted on each other's Necks, and threw
On each contiguous Yoke the milky Foam.

But to the *Pillar* as he nearer drew,
Orestes, reining in the *near-moſt* Steed,
While in a larger Scope, with looſen'd Reins,
And laſh'd up to their Speed, the others flew,
Turn'd ſwift around the *Goal* his grazing Wheel.

As yet erect upon their whirling Orbs
Roll'd every Chariot, till the hard-mouth'd Steeds,
That drew the *Thracian* Carr, unmaſter'd broke
With Violence away, and turning ſhort,
(When o'er the *Hippodrome* with winged Speed
They had completed now the *ſev'nth* Career)
Daſh'd their wild Foreheads 'gainſt the *Libyan* Carr,
From this one luckleſs Chance a Train of Ills
Succeeding, rudely on each other fell
Horſes and *Charioteers*, and ſoon was fill'd
With Wrecks of ſhatter'd Carrs the *Phocian* Plain.

This ſeen, th' *Athenian* with conſummate Art
His Courſe obliquely veer'd, and ſteering wide
With ſteddy Rein, the wild Commotion paſs'd
Of tumbling *Chariots*, and tumultuous Steeds.
Next, and, tho' laſt, yet full of Confidence,
And Hopes of Victory, *Orestes* came.
But when he ſaw, of his Antagoniſts
Him only now remaining, to his Mares

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Anxious he rais'd his stimulating Voice.
And now with equal Fronts a-breast they drove,
Now with alternate momentary Pride
Beyond each other push'd their stretching Steeds.

Erect *Orestes*, and erect his Carr
'Thro' all the *number'd Courses* now had stood;
But luckless in the last, as round the *Goal*
The wheeling Courser turn'd, the *hither* Rein
Imprudent he relax'd, and on the *Stone*
The shatter'd Axle dashing, from the Wheels
Fell headlong, hamper'd in the tangling Reins.
The frightened Mares flew divers o'er the *Course*.

The throng'd Assembly, when they saw the Chief
Hurl'd from his *Chariot*, with Compassion mov'd,
His Youth deplor'd, deplor'd him glorious late
For mighty Deeds, now doom'd to *mighty Woes*,
Now dragg'd along the Dust, his Feet in Air:
'Till hasting to his Aid, and scarce at length
The frantick Mares restraining, from the Reins
The *Charioteers* releas'd him, and convey'd
With Wounds and Gore disfigur'd to his Friends.
" The just *Amphielyons* on th' *Athenian* Steeds
" The *Delphick Laurel* solemnly conferr'd.

SECTION

[1]

[2]

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SECTION XIII.

Of the several Kinds of Chariot Races.

THE Laws and Customs of the *Chariot-Race* having been explained in the foregoing *Section*, it remains to take Notice only, that these Laws were general, and extended equally to all the various Species of *Chariots*; excepting that the *Length* of the *Race* was diminished for some of them, as I shall observe presently.

The *Chariot* first introduced into the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and that of which I have been hitherto speaking, was the τέλειον ἄρμα [1], or *complete Chariot*, so named either because it was drawn by *full-aged* Horses, or because it was drawn by *four Horses*, which Number seems to have made a *complete Set* among the Ancients. These four Horses were all ranged a-breast, the two middle ones only were harnessed to the *Chariot* by the *Yoke*, from whence they were called *Zygii*, the two *side* Horses were fastened either to the *Yoke*, [2] or to some other Part of the *Chariot* by their *Traces*, and were called *Pareori*, *Paraseiri*, *Seirophori*, and *Seiræi*, and their Reins or Traces *Seiræ* and *Pareoriæ*.

Erichonius, according to *Virgil*, was the first that drove with *four Horses*, and, according to *Manilius*, was for that

[1] Τέλειον signifies *adultus* as well as *perfectus*.

[2] *Cælius Rhodig.*

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Invention honoured with a Place among the heavenly Bodies.

*Primus Eriethonius currus, & quatuor ausus
Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.* Vir. Geor. iii.

*Quem curru. primum volitantem Jupiter alto
Quadrijugis conspexit equis, cæloque sacra vit [3].*

Pagondas of *Thebes* had the Honour of first obtaining the Prize of this Sort of *Chariot-Race* in the *Olympick Games* [4]; as *Eriethonius* had in the Games called *Panathenæa*.

In the *ninety-third Olympiad* was added the *Race* of the *Chariot* called *Synoris*, which was drawn by a *Yoke*, or one *Pair* only of *full-aged Horses*.

The *Apené* was a *Chariot* drawn by *two Mules*, after the manner of the *Synoris*, as *Pausanius* tells us, and was introduced into the *Olympick Games* by one *Asandrasius*, as we learn from *Pindar's* Scholiast [5]. I have called it a *Chariot*, though if it resembled the *Apené* described by *Homer* in the *xxivth Iliad* [6], it should more properly be called a *Waggon*; and indeed that Account of it agrees best with what *Pausanias* says [7], who observes that the *Race* of the *Apené* could pretend neither to *Antiquity* nor *Beauty*, and that *Mules* were held in such *Abomination* by the *Eleans*, that they permitted none of those *Animals* to be bred in their Country. And indeed the *Race* of the

[3] Manil. lib. i. p. 12. l. 22. Edit, Scalig.

[4] See Serv. in Virg. loc. cit.

[6] Ver, 266.

[7] Lib. v. c. 9.

[5] Olymp. Od. 5.

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Apené was but of a short Continuance, having been abolished within a very few *Olympiads* after its first Admission.

Pausanias and the Greek Commentator upon *Pindar* [8], differ so widely in their Accounts of the Times when the *Apené* was admitted and abolished, that it would be in vain for me to endeavour to reconcile them; especially as the latter disagrees even with himself. I shall therefore follow the Account of *Pausanias*, who at least is consistent with himself: and according to whom the *Apené* was introduced into the *Olympick Games* in the *seventieth Olympiad*, and abolished by Proclamation in the *eighty-fourth* [9].

In the ninety-ninth *Olympiad* was introduced the Πώλι-
κος ἄρμα, which was a *Chariot* drawn by *four Colts*, as is evident from what *Pausanias* [1] immediately subjoins concerning the Συναρίς Πώλων, or *Chariot* drawn by *two Colts*, which, he tells us, was introduced in the hundred and twenty-ninth *Olympiad*, and that one *Belistiché*, a *Macedonian Lady*, was the first that carried off the *Crown* in that *Race*.

I shall now endeavour to settle the different Lengths of the *Race* assigned to each Species of these Chariots; a Point not yet determined by any Author that I know of. In order to this, I shall beg Leave to produce two Passages, one from *Pindar*, and another from his *Scholiast*. That of *Pindar* is as follows:

[8] *Olymp. Od.* 5.

[9] *Lib. v. c. 9.*

[1] *Lib. v. c. 8.*

[2] A. Τῶν νῦν γλυκὺς ἴμερος ὄσχεν

Δωδεκάγναμπλον περὶ τέγμα δρόμος

ἵππων φυτεῦσαι.

[3] The Words of the Scholiast explaining this Passage are, ἦγεν δὲ δωδεκάκις οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι τεθρίπποις περιήρχοντο. ἡ δωδεκάγναμπλον τὸ εἶς γναμπλὸς ἔχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἶς δρόμος ἐποίησε τὸ τέλειον ἄγμα τῶν ἵππων, τὸ δὲ πωλικόν, ἡ.

Τέγμα in this Passage of *Pindar* signifies the *Pillar* erected at the *End* of the *Course*, round which the *Chariots* turned, as has been shewn, and the Epithet δωδεκάγναμπλον applied to that imports, that they turned *twelve Times* round that *Pillar*; and consequently that they ran *twelve Times up*, and as often *down* the *Course*.

Δρόμος signifies *curfus*, a *Race* or *Course*, and because (as I suppose) the first [4] *Race* at *Olympia* consisted only of *one Length* of the *Stadium*, it came to signify, when applied to the *Foot-Races*, the Measure of *one Length* of the *Stadium*, as is evident from the following Passages [5], διαυλος δρόμος ὃ διπλῆς ἑνα ποιῶν καμπλῆζα, i. e. *Diaulus est*

[2] *Olymp. Ode 3. ver. 58.*

Quarum [arborum, Olivarum scilicet] cum [Herculem] dulce desiderium habebat, duodecies inflexum circa terminum curriculi eorum plantare.

[3] Σκόλια Νεωτ.

Nempe terminum. Quem duodecies circuibant quadrigæ; vel δωδεκάγναμπλον, utpote duodecim flexus habentem; quandoquidem duodecim cursum perfecit τὸ τέλειον ἄγμα, πωλικόν vero οἶο.

[4] The *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*.

[5] *Tzetzes, citatus a P. Fabro Agonist. Lib. i. c. 28.*

curfus

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curfus duplex unum faciens flexum; and ὁ δολιχος ἐπὶ τὰ δρόμος·
 τρεῖς γὰρ καμπήσας εἶχε, καὶ τὸ καμπήσας ἥμισυ. *Dolichus,*
curfus septemplex: tres enim flexus habuit, & dimidium flexus.

But Δρόμος, when applied to the Horse-Races, signified
 a *Course* of four *Stadia*, as is evident from these Words of
Hesychius; ἵππειος δρόμος τετρασάδιος τις, and from these of
Pausanias, δρόμοι δὲ εἰσι τῷ ἵππῳ μῆκος μὲν διαυλοὶ δύο. Now
 as δώδεκα δρόμος and δώδεκα γυαμπλῆς in the above cited Pas-
 sage from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar* are plainly of the same
 import, we are to understand by Δρόμῳ ἵππῳ, a *Course*
 consisting of one *Turn*, or *Round*, once up and down the *Hip-*
podrome; which whole *Course*, or *Round*, being equal to
 four *Stadia*, it may from hence be inferred that the *Two*
Pillars (viz. that from which the *Horses* started, and that
 round which they turned) which divided the *Course* into
 two equal Lengths, were two *Stadia* distant from each
 other, consequently the whole Length of the *Race* of the
 τέλειον ἄρμα, or *Chariot* drawn by full-aged *Horses*, consist-
 ing of twelve *Rounds*, amounted to forty-eight *Stadia*, or
 six *Grecian Miles*; that of the Πωλικόν ἄρμα, or *Chariot*
 drawn by *Colts*, consisting of eight *Rounds*, to two and thirty
Stadia, or four *Grecian Miles*. A *Grecian Mile*, according
 to *Arbuthnot's* Computation, was somewhat more than
 eight hundred Paces; an *English Mile* is equal to 1056,

Under the two Denominations of the τέλειον ἄρμα and
 πωλικόν ἄρμα, the *Scholiast* of *Pindar* meant, as I imagine,
 to comprehend all the Species of Chariots; which he
 hath ranked in two Classes, not by the Number but the

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Age of the Horses: as appears from his putting Πώλικον ἄρμα in Opposition, or Contra-distinction to τέλειον ἄρμα. For τέλειος, as I observed before, signifies not only *perfectus*, but *adultus* also. By the Words τέλειον ἄρμα therefore in this Place we are to understand a *Chariot drawn by full-aged Horses*, which takes in the *Synoris*, or *Chariot and Pair of full-aged Horses*; as well as the Τέθειππον, or *Chariot and Four*: and by Πώλικον ἄρμα, a *Chariot drawn by Colts, or under-aged Horses*, whether *four* or only *two* in Number. The Race of which latter consisted of *eight Rounds*, that of the former of *twelve*.

That the Race of the Πωλικον ἄρμα, or *Chariot drawn by under-aged Horses*, though *four* in Number, consisted only of *eight Rounds*, is evident from the Passage of *Sophocles*, a Translation of which was inserted at the End of the preceding Section. For as the Words σείρασιον ἵππων (Ver. 742 of the Original) prove that the *Chariot of Orestes* was drawn by *four Horses*, so doth the Word Πῶλοι shew that those Horses were *under-aged*: and whoever considers attentively, what is there said about the *sixth and seventh Round*, ἔκλον κ' ἑβδομον δρόμον, will find Reason to conclude, that the Accident which befell *Orestes* happened in the last and *eighth Round*. Though *Du Faur* thinks it manifest from this very Passage, that the *Chariot-Race*, at least in the Times of *Sophocles* or *Orestes*, consisted of no more than *seven Rounds*. But had he observed that the *eight Chariots*, which are there said to have been overturned, were then running the *seventh Round*,
and

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and that *Orestes*, who with the *Athenian* still continued the *Race*, was thrown out of his Chariot some Time after, he must have seen that the *Race* consisted of more than seven Rounds; and that it consisted precisely of eight we have Reason to conclude, from what has been produced from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*, relating to the *πώλικον ἄρμα*, or Chariot drawn by under-aged Horses.

Indeed, the whole Story of *Orestes* contending in the *Pythian Games* was a mere Forgery of the Poet, to serve the Purposes of his Tragedy: it is, however, to be presumed, that in order to give it the greater Air of Truth and Probability, he kept close to the Laws and Customs of those Games. And as the Laws and Customs relating to the same Kinds of Exercises, seem to have been the same in the several sacred Games of Greece, it is very allowable in all parallel Cases to apply to one what is related of the other. Thus, as we are told by *Pindar's Scholiast*, that the *Race* of the Chariot drawn by under-aged Horses consisted of eight Rounds in the *Olympick Games*, we may affirm the same of the same kind of *Race* in the *Pythian Games*: and in like Manner we may conclude, that the Signal for starting was given by the Sound of a Trumpet in the *Olympick Chariot-Races*, from *Sophocles* having informed us that this was the Signal given in the *Pythick Hippodrome*.

SECTION

SECTION XIV.

Of the Race of Riding-Horses.

THAT Chariots were in Use before *Riding-Horses* need not be observed to any one, that is acquainted with *Homer*; among all whose Heroes, *Greek* and *Trojan*, there is not one that ever makes his Appearance on Horseback, excepting *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* [1], mounted upon the Horses of *Rhesus*, which they had taken in their Expedition by Night, after having killed their Master in his Sleep. It appears, however, by this Instance, that neither the Heroes nor the Horses were utter Strangers to the Art of *Riding*: as by another Passage in the fifteenth *Iliad* it is evident, that *Horsemanship* was carried even to some Degree of Perfection, at least in the Time of that Poet, who lived but in the next Generation after the Siege of *Troy*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*. The Passage [2] last mentioned is as follows:

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἵπποισι κεληΐζει, &c.

So when a Horseman from the watry Mead
(Skill'd in the Manage of the bounding Steed)
Drives four fair Coursers, practis'd to obey,
'To some great City thro' the publick Way:
Safe in his Art, as Side by Side they run,
He shifts his Seat, and vaults from one to one:

[1] See *Il.* x. [2] *Il.* O. ver. 679. Pope's *Il.* xv. ver. 822.

And

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And now to this, and now to that he flies :

Admiring Numbers follow with their Eyes.

I the rather quote this Passage, because I find some Authors [3] have introduced an Exercise like this into the *Olympick Games* ; upon what Authority I know not ; for I do not find in those Books, that I have looked into, mention made of any other *Race of Riding-Horses* than those of the *Celes* and the *Calpé*. And as to that particular Piece of Horsemanship described above, *Eustathius* in his Comment [4] upon *Homer* tells us, that in the old *Scholia* it is written, that *Demetrius* said he had seen a Man, vaulting, in the Manner described by the Poet, from the Back of one Horse to another, holding the Bridles at the same Time, and keeping the Horses to their Speed without any Interruption or Incumbrance. Which implies, that such a Sight was very uncommon ; and consequently that no such Exercise could ever have been admitted into any of the *Games of Greece*.

The Word *κεληλίσειν*, used by the Poet in the Beginning of this Simile, may possibly have induced some People to imagine, that the *Riders* of the Horses called *Κέλητες*, *Celetes*, were accustomed to leap from one Horse to another, as if that Word was a Term of the *Manage*, of which the Verses that follow after were no more than an Explanation. It is certain, however, from a Passage in the *Odyssey* [5], that by *ἵππος Κέλης* *Homer* meant to fig-

[3] Rollin's Hist. An. tom. v. p. 72. Edit. *Amst.*

[4] See Barnes in loc. [5] *Odyss.* E. ver. 371. See the Scholiast.

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nify no more than a *Riding-Horse* [6], and consequently that by the Word Κέλῃζεν, which is derived from Κέλης, no more is to be understood in this Place than simply to ride.

This Interpretation of Κέλης (*Celes*) may be farther confirmed by the Authorities of *Pindar* and *Pausanias*, particularly by a Story related in the last mentioned Author of a *Mare* [7], named *Aura*, belonging to one *Phidolas* a *Corinthian*. This Mare, says the Historian, having accidentally thrown her *Rider* soon after she had started from the *Barrier*, continued the Race of her own Accord, and turned round the *Pillar* as if the *Rider* had been still upon her Back; upon hearing the *Trumpet* she mended her Pace, 'till coming in before her *Antagonists*, she stopped short over-against the *Judges* of the *Games*, as conscious of having gained the Victory. The Victory was accordingly adjudged to her Master *Phidolas*, who, by erecting in Return a Statue to her Honour, intimated to whom the Merit of that Victory was due.

In this Story there are two or three Particulars worth observing: as first, there is no mention of any other Horse or Mare, that shared the Victory with *Aura*; and consequently, in the Race called *Celes*, each Competitor made use of but one single Horse. Secondly, I shall take

[6] That this is the true Meaning of Κέλης is confirmed by the following Words of *Suidas*, Κέλης ὁ μόνος ἵππος, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τέτι φερόμενος σελλάειος ὁ γυμνός. By which last Word also it looks as if the *Rider* was naked, like the *Athletes* who contended in the *Gymnastick Exercises*.

[7] Lib. vi. c. 13.

Notice,

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Notice, that the victorious *Aura* was of the Feminine Gender, and from thence take occasion to acquaint the Reader, that in all the *Races*, as well of Riding-Horses as of Chariots, *Mares* or *Horses* were indifferently used; excepting in the *Race* named *Calpé*, in which *Mares* only were employed, as I shall shew presently. In the third Place, it is observable, that though the *Rider* was thrown off in the very Beginning of the *Race*, yet was the Crown awarded to *Phidolas*, the Master of *Aura*; to whom certainly no less was due, than if his *Mare* had conquered under the Conduct and Direction of her *Rider*.

By the Circumstances of *Aura's* mending her Pace upon hearing the *Trumpet*, I think we may conclude, that the *Trumpet* either did not sound during the whole *Race*, but at the last *Round* only, or that it sounded differently in different Periods of the Course. There was a Meaning in the Sound of the *Trumpet*, which *Aura* understood. She was probably an old *Stager* there, or had been made acquainted in the *Manage* with all the Rules and Customs observed in the *Hippodrome* at *Olympia*.

The *Race* of *full-aged Riding-Horses*, of which I have been hitherto speaking, was instituted in the *thirty-third Olympiad*, and that of the *Πῶλος Κέλης*, or *under-aged Riding-Horse*, in the *one hundred and thirty-first*.

I shall not here enter into the Question, how it came to pass that the Use of Riding-Horses was posterior to that of Chariots; since that Question can be answered only by Conjectures. The Fact is so notorious, that, ac-

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According to Monf. *Folard* [8], *Chariots* were used in War above a thousand Years before there was any such Thing as Cavalry among the Ancients ; the Use of which, one would imagine, says that Gentleman, should notwithstanding have come into their Heads before that of *Chariots*. They seem to have had a terrible Notion of being mounted upon the Back of a Horse, and have accordingly made Monsters of those People whom they first beheld in that Attitude ; to which they were not very speedily reconciled. Time, indeed, wore off that Amazement by Degrees ; and their Intercourse with other Nations not only rendered *Riding-Horses* familiar to them, but convinced them likewise of the Advantages accruing from the Use of Cavalry. Whence it came to pass, that an Order of *Equites*, or *Horsemen*, was instituted in most of their Commonwealths ; to whom, as in *Athens*, was allotted the second Rank in the State. Upon the same Principle, perhaps, was the ἵππος κέλῃς, or *Riding-Horse*, admitted into the *Olympick Hippodrome*, and held in such Estimation, that although the Race of *Riding-Horses* was neither so magnificent nor so expensive, and consequently not so Royal, as the *Chariot-Race*; yet we find, among the Competitors in this Exercise, the Names of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*. To the latter is the first *Olympick Ode* of *Pindar* inscribed, in which honourable mention is made of the Horse *Pherenicus*, whose Fleetness gained for his Master the *Olympick Crown*.

[8] Obser, sur la Bataille de Messenie.

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The *Race* of the *Calpé* was performed with *Mares*; from whose Backs the *Riders* were accustomed to leap towards the latter *End*, that is, in the last Stage or Period of the *Course*; and laying hold of the *Bridles* finished the *Race* in that Manner. The same Custom is still observed, says *Pausanias*, by those *Riders* called *Anabataæ*, between whom and the *Riders* in the *Calpé* there is no other Difference, than that the *Anabataæ* are distinguished by some particular Marks, which they carry about them, and ride upon *Horses* instead of *Mares*. The *Race* of the *Calpé* was instituted in the *seventy-first Olympiad*, and, together with the *Apené*, abolished in the *Eighty-fourth*.

We are not to conclude from what *Pausanias* says of the *Anabataæ*, that the *Calpé* was afterwards revived under another Name, and admitted again into the *Olympick Games*, with those Alterations he speaks of. Had this been the Case, he would undoubtedly have told us so expressly, after having been so particular in his Account of the Times in which the *Calpé* was instituted and abolished.

I cannot give the Reader any Information of the *Length* of this *Race*, nor of those of the *Celes*: but I think it reasonable to suppose, that the latter, distinguished, as has been observed, into two Classes, one of *full-aged*, and the other of *under-aged* Horses, consisted of the same Number of *Rounds* as those of the Chariots, distinguished in like Manner into two Classes.

Neither can I determine the different Ages that ranked the Horses in one or the other Class; nor whether the

Weight

Weight of the Riders, or the Sizes of the Horses, were taken into Consideration. All I can say to it is, that those Points seem to have been left to the Discretion of the Hellanodicks, who were appointed to examine the young Horses that were entered to run for any of the Equestrian Crowns [9], and who were sworn before the Statue of Jupiter Horcius, to give a true and impartial Judgment upon the Matters left to their Examination, without taking any Reward; and not to discover the Reasons which disposed them to reject some and admit others.

[9] Pauſ. L. v. c. 24.

SECTION XV.

Of the Candidates for the Olympick Crown.

FROM what has been said in the preceding Sections of the Nature of the several Exercises, of which the *Olympick Games* consisted, it is natural to conclude that every one, who fancied himself qualified for obtaining an *Olympick Victory*, was admitted to contend for it. But if it be considered that the *Olympick Games* were Part of a Religious Festival, instituted in Honour of the King and Father of all the Pagan Deities, and solemnized with the utmost Splendour and Magnificence, by pompous Deputations from every State of Greece: that the Assembly, from the great Concourse of People of all Orders and Conditions, who upon these Occasions usually resorted to
Olympia,

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Olympia, either from Devotion or Curiosity, or other Motives, must have been very numerous and august: and lastly, that a *Victory* in the *Olympick Games* was attended with many considerable Honours and Immunities: Whoever, I say, will take these several Points into Consideration, will not be surprized to find all those, who offered themselves as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Crown*, before they were admitted to contend for it, subjected to such Conditions, as were necessary to maintain that Order and Decorum which became so sacred and solemn an Institution; and required to pass through such an Examination, as might tend to exclude all, who should in any Degree appear unworthy of the Honour of contending for the *Olympick Olive*.

What these were I shall now proceed to shew.

Some Time before the Celebration of the *Games*, the *Candidates* were obliged to give in their Names to one of the *Hellanodicks*, and to specify at the same Time the several *Exercises* in which they purposed to contend. I say *some Time*, because it is not certain how long before the *Games* they were obliged to do this; nor whether they were required to do it in Person, or whether a Notification of such an Intention by a Messenger, or by Letter only, was deemed sufficient.

The *Candidates*, indeed, for the *Equestrian Crown*, were exempted from personal Attendance, even in the Day of Trial; and consequently had the Privilege of entering their Names by *Proxy*.

Monf. *Burette* [1] pretends, that this Privilege was equally allowed to the other *Candidates*; for which, however, he produces no Authority. And indeed, I cannot see of what Service it could have been to them, considering the Obligation they were under of repairing to *Elis*, by a certain Day, under the Penalty of being excluded from contending for the *Crown*: an Evidence of which *Pausanias* [2] hath given us in the Instance of *Apollonius Rhantus*. *Apollonius*, who was of *Alexandria*, was not only fined by the *Hellandicks* for Contumacy, in not appearing on the Day appointed; but not permitted to engage in the Combat, notwithstanding he pretended to have been detained in the *Cyclades* by contrary Winds. *Herachides*, his Countryman and *Antagonist*, took Care to prove the Falshood of that Plea; and shewed that the true Reason of *Apollonius's* coming so late, was his staying to pick up the lucrative Prizes in the several Games of *Ionia*. *Apollonius* upon this, and some other *Candidates* who were in the same Circumstance, were excluded the Combat; and *Herachides*, without a Battle, obtained the *Crown*: at which *Apollonius* was so exasperated, that, armed as he happened to be with the *Cæstus* for the Engagement, he ran upon *Herachides*, who was receiving the *Crown*, and pursued him even to the Seat of the *Hellandicks*; which childish Fury, says *Pausanias*, had like to have cost him dear.

By this Story it is evident there was a Time prefixed for the Appearance of the *Candidates*; but we are left

[1] 2 Mem. sur les Athletes.

[2] Lib. v. c. 21.

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again to conjecture how much that Time preceded the Celebration of the *Games*, though I think there are some very good Marks to direct us in that Inquiry.

I have already observed, that though the *Games* themselves lasted but *five Days*, the *Preparation* for the *Games* took up *thirty*. These *thirty Days* were employed in exercising the *Candidates*, as *Tzetzes* and *Philostratus* [3] inform us; from whence it may be inferred, that they were required to resort to *Elis* at least *thirty Days* before the Celebration of the *Games*.

The Custom of putting the *Candidates* into a Course of Exercise for *thirty Days* before the *Games*, furnishes us with a very good Reason for the rigid Proceeding of the *Hellandicks* with regard to *Apollonius*. It was for the Dignity of the *Olympick Games* that none should be admitted to contend in them without being duely prepared [4]. The Preparation was accordingly very severe, and the Exercises enjoined the *Candidates* upon that Occasion, were more laborious and intense than upon any other. They were attacked in every Part of their Science, and put upon trying to the utmost their Patience and Fortitude, in supporting Hunger and Thirst, and Heat and Cold, and Toil, continued sometimes, without Intermision, for a whole Day together. This Trial the *Candidates* were obliged to undergo, that they might be thoroughly acquainted with their own Strength before

[3] In Lycoph. in Vit. Apoll. Lib. v. c. 32, &c. Lib. ix. c. 10, 11, 16.

[4] Fab. Agon. Lib. i.

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they entered the *Stadium*; and not, by rashly engaging in an Attempt to which they were by no means equal, run the hazard of disgracing a Spectacle which all *Greece* was assembled to behold: and of vilifying, by an unworthy Competition, that *Crown*, for which the most eminent and most deserving were always *Candidates*.

We may conclude, however, by *Apollonius's* pleading against the Sentence of the *Hellandicks*, that they had a Power of dispensing with the Non-observance of this Law, in Cases where the Offence was involuntary, and proceeded from Accidents, which were either unforeseen or unavoidable; such as Sicknefs, contrary Winds, and many other: but then such Accident must have been fully proved, without Fraud or Equivocation; which indeed it was not very easy for a *Candidate* to make use of without being detected, either by his *Antagonists*, or by some one in an Assembly, that was composed of Inhabitants of every City, nay, even of every Village throughout *Greece*.

The Place where the preparatory Exercises were performed, was the *Old Gymnasium* in *Elis* [5]; where the *Hellandicks* attended every Day, as well to distribute the proper Exercises to the several *Classes* of *Candidates*, as to see that they were duely performed: though it is to be supposed, that in the Performance of them the *Candidates* were governed entirely by the several Masters of the *Gym-*

[5] *Pauf*, L. vi. c. 23.

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naſum, whoſe Office it was to preſcribe the Manner, and regulate the Proportion of each Exerciſe.

Near this *Gymnaſium* was the *Forum* of the *Eleans*, in which, ſays *Pauſanias* [6], they were wont to break and exerciſe their Horſes, and from thence was the *Forum* named *Hippodromos*, or the *Horſe Courſe*. But I am afraid it cannot be concluded from this Paſſage, that the *Horſes*, which were entered to run for the ſeveral *Equeſtrian Crowns*, were, like the *Gymnaſtick Candidates*, obliged to go through a preparatory Courſe of Exerciſe. That they were indeed kept in conſtant Exerciſe there is little Room to doubt; but whether that was done in Compliance with any Law or Cuſtom of the *Olympick Games*, or at the Diſcretion of their Maſters, is, I think, not at all evident.

There is the ſame Uncertainty relating to the Time, in which the Competitors for the *Equeſtrian Crown* were required to enter their Names, and ſend their *Chariots* and their *Horſes* to *Olympia*. But it is not unlikely that in all Things, excepting perſonal Attendance, they were ſubject to the ſame Regulations with the other *Candidates*, as they undoubtedly were in ſome Inſtances that I ſhall mention preſently. If this be ſo, all the above ſtated Difficulties will be removed; and it will be clear that the *Equeſtrian Candidates* were required to enter their Names, and ſend their *Chariots* and their *Horſes* to *Elis*, at leaſt *ſixty Days* before the Celebration of the *Games*; and that

[6] L. vi. c. 24.

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the *Charioteers* and *Riders*, who were in these Cafes allowed to be Proxies for their Masters, were subject to the customary *Preparation*, and consequently went through a proper Course of Exercise during the said *thirty Days*.

The Probability of this Argument will appear yet stronger, when we come to consider the *Oath* taken by the *Gymnastick Candidates*, before they were finally admitted; and from which there is no Reason to think that the *Equestrian Candidates* were exempted. The former in this swear, that they had exactly performed every Thing required of them by way of Exercise, for *ten Months together*. In these *ten Months* were included, as I suppose, the *thirty Days*, or *Month*, spent in exercising themselves in *Elis*: for the other *nine* they were probably left at Liberty to practise, each in the *Gymnasium* of his own Town or Country. That only *thirty Days* of this *ten Months Preparation* were spent in *Elis*, is, I think, evident from the following Words of *Philostratus* [7]: *Ἡλεῖοι τὰς ἀθλητάς ἐπειδὴν ἤκη Ολύμπια γυμνάζουσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἠλίδι*, that is, “The *Eleans*, upon the Approach of “the *Olympick Games*, exercise the *Athletes* for thirty Days “together in the Town of *Elis* itself.”

The same Author tells us, that this long and severe *Probation*, which the *Candidates* were obliged to undergo, first at home and afterwards at *Elis*, was usually concluded with an Exhortation, addressed to them by the *Hellanoicks*, before their Departure for *Olympia*. “If ye

[7] Vit. Ap. L. v.

“ have

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“ have exercis'd yourselves in a Manner suitable to the
“ Dignity of the *Olympick Games*, and are conscious of
“ having done no Action that betrays a slothfull, coward-
“ ly, and illiberal Disposition, proceed boldly. If not,
“ depart, all ye that are so minded.”

But notwithstanding this Permission to depart, there is
an Instance of a *Pancratiast*, one *Serapion* of *Alexandria*,
who in the 201st *Olympiad* was punished for running away
the Day before the Battle was to have come on; he was
afraid, it seems, of his *Antagonists*, and fled: for which
Piece of Cowardice, he was fined by the *Hellandicks*;
who, to perpetuate the Memory both of the Punishment
and the Crime, out of that Fine erected a *Statue* to *Ju-
piter*. There is no other Instance, says *Pausanias*, of the
like Offence; but this alone is sufficient to demonstrate,
that it was reckoned a kind of *Desertion* in a *Candidate*,
to retire before a Combat in which he had list'd himself
to engage.

But this Flight of *Serapion* must be supposed to have
happened after his Arrival at *Olympia*; where, at the
Opening of the Games, a Herald publickly proclaimed
the Names of all the *Candidates*, as they were entered in
a Register, kept by the *Hellandicks* for that Purpose; to-
gether with the exact Number of *Competitors* in each
kind of *Exercise*. For a *Candidate* to decline the Combat,
after having declared himself a *Competitor*, and in so pub-
lick a Manner, as it were, defied his *Antagonists*, was cer-

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tainly a kind of Desertion worthy of Disgrace and Punishment.

After (and, as I imagine, immediately after) the Herald had thus called over the Candidates, who doubtless appeared and answered to their Names, they were obliged to undergo an Examination of another kind, consisting of the following Interrogatories: 1. Were they Freemen? 2. Were they *Grecians*? 3. Were their Characters clear from all infamous and immoral Stains?

That the *Candidates* for the *Olympick Crown* were to be *Freemen*, is sufficiently evident from a Passage [8] in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*; who, as a Rhetorician, laying down Rules for haranguing them before they entered into the *Stadium*, among other Topicks, which he there recommends as proper on that Occasion to be insisted upon, advises the Orator to remind them of their being *free*: a Consideration (says he) that ought to preserve those who value themselves upon that Title from incurring, by the Commission of any base or unworthy Action, the Punishments due only to *Slaves*. By Punishments, in this Place, is meant (besides Fines, Exclusion from the Games, &c.) the bodily Correction that was inflicted by Order of the *Hellandicks* [9] upon those, who were guilty of an Irregularity, of any fraudulent or corrupt Practices; which, as they are the genuine Product of mean and servile Minds, ought therefore to be repressed by servile Punishments.

[8] In *Proreptico Athlet.*

[9] See *Fab. Agon. L. i. c. 19.*

The

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The Story of *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as it is related by *Herodotus* [1], may serve to shew that none but *Grecians* were admitted to contend in the *Olympick Games*.

Alexander being ambitious of obtaining the *Olympick Crown*, entered himself a *Candidate* among those who aimed at winning that Honour in the *Foot-Race*; but was objected to by his *Antagonists* as being a *Macedonian*, and told, that *Barbarians* were not permitted to contend in those *Games*. *Alexander* thought fit to clear himself of this Objection; and shewed, that although he was Prince of *Macedon*, he was descended of a Family that came originally from *Argos*. The *Hellanodicks* allowed of his Pretensions, and received him as a *Competitor* for the *Olympick Crown*, which nevertheless he did not obtain.

Upon this Point of the Extraction of the *Candidates* the *Eleans* were so scrupulous, as to admit none, who could not declare his Father and his Mother, and shew that there was no *Bastardy* or *Adultery* in his Lineage. For this Piece of Intelligence we are indebted to *Themistius* [2], who instances in the Case of one *Philammon*; upon whose Extraction some Doubts arising, he was not suffered to engage, 'till one *Aristotle* vouched for him, and adopted him for his Son.

Hence, in all Probability, was derived that Law by which the *Candidates* were required to enter, together with

[1] Lib. v. [2] See Faber's *Agon.* L. iii. c. 17. *Themist.* Orat. p. 249. Edit. *Hardouin*.

their

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their own Names, those of their Fathers and their Countries; though with regard to the latter, they were sometimes permitted to *adopt* a Country, and style themselves of Kingdoms or Cities different from those where they were born; as may be proved by many Instances, particularly in *Pausanias* and *Pindar* [3]. Are we to conclude, from what is said above of *Aristotle's* adopting *Philammon* for his Son, that an *adopted* Father also would sometimes serve the Turn instead of a *natural* Father, and pass Muster in like Manner with the *Hellanodicks*?

We find the first and last of the three above-mentioned Articles, inserted in the Proclamation made by the *Herald*, when 'the Candidates passed in *Review* along the *Stadium*, which was performed in the following Manner:

A *Herald* [4], after having proclaimed Silence, laid his Hand upon the Head of the *Candidate*, and leading him in that Manner along the *Stadium*, demanded with a loud Voice of all the Assembly, "Is there any one, who
" can accuse this Man of any Crime? Is he a *Robber* or a
" *Slave*? Or wicked and depraved in his Life and Mo-
" rals?" And, probably, it was in Answer to such a Challenge as this, and upon a like Occasion, that *Themistocles* stood up, and objected to *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, as a *Tyrant*. For *Plutarch* [5], after *Theophrastus*, relates, that *Hiero* having sent his Horses to *Olympia*, in order to contend for the *Equestrian Crown*, and having prepared

[3] Lib. vi. passim. & Pind. Olymp. Ode 9. [4] St. Chrysost.
apud Fab. Agon. L. iii. c. 12. [5] In Themist.

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for their Reception a magnificent Pavilion, *Themistocles* stood up, and in a Speech told the *Grecians*, that they ought to pull down the *Tyrant's* Pavilion, and not suffer his Horses to contend. As there is no particular Crime laid to the Charge of *Hiero*, and no Objection raised against him as a Foreigner, or *Barbarian*, the whole of the Accusation brought against this Monarch by *Themistocles*, seems to consist in the Word τυραννς (*Tyrant*) which, among the *Grecians*, signified a Man, that either usurped, or possessed by Means of the Usurpation of his Predecessors, a monarchical, or sovereign Authority, in prejudice to the Liberties of the People, though he afterwards exercised that Authority with Justice and Virtue. This was the Case of *Pisistratus*, of *Gelo*, and his Brother *Hiero*, according to *Plutarch* [6]; the last of whom, as we see, could not, however, escape the Censure of *Themistocles*. The Genius of the *Greeks* was turned entirely to *Democracies*; wherefore it is no Wonder, that in a *Grecian* Assembly the Name of *Tyrant* should be heard with Indignation; or that *Themistocles* should think a Man, who had enslaved his Country, criminal enough to be excluded those Games, in which Liberty was so much countenanced, that no *Slave* was admitted to contend in them. It looks, indeed, as if by *Slaves* in this Case no other could be meant than *menial Slaves*, such as were bought and sold, the Property of their Masters and the Scorn of Human Kind: to degrade a *Tyrant* to a level with such as these,

[6] *De his qui.*

and

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and to deny him the Privileges of a *Freeman*, was a piece of Retaliation worthy the Justice of an *Hellanodick*; and the Spirit of *Themistocles* the Deliverer of *Greece*. It appears however, that, notwithstanding this popular Objection to his Character, *Hiero* was admitted to contend in the *Olympick Games*; in which he obtained two Victories, one in the *Horse-Races* in the 73^d *Olympiad*, upon which Occasion *Pindar* wrote his first *Olympick Ode* [7], and the other in the *Chariot-Races*, in the 78th; soon after which he died. In the 75th *Olympiad* happened the Expedition of *Xerxes*; from which terrible Attack upon her Liberties *Greece* was rescued chiefly by the Wisdom and Valour of *Themistocles* [8]. In the 76th *Olympiad*, the next after the Battles of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*, *Themistocles* going to the *Olympick Games*, drew for a whole Day together, says *Plutarch*, the Attention of the Spectators from the Combatants upon himself; was gazed at by all the *Greeks* with Veneration, and by them pointed out to Strangers with loud Expressions of their Wonder and Applause: insomuch that *Themistocles* himself acknowledged, he that Day reaped the Fruits of all the Labours he had undergone for *Greece*. It was then, perhaps, that this Assertor of the Liberties of *Greece* [9], whose Heart was not a little subject to Vanity, the last Infirmity of noble *Minds* (to use an Expression of *Milton*) proud of his Victories over one *Tyrant*, thought fit to declare himself an

[7] See Schol. ad prim. Olymp. Od.

[8] Plut. in Themistocle.

[9] *Ibid.*

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Enemy to all, by this Opposition to *Hiero*; under which if *Hiero* did not sink, it was owing, in all likelihood, to the Services that he and his Family [1] had lately done to Greece, in defeating the *Carthaginians*, who were leagued with *Xerxes* in the same Cause: an Action that *Pindar* seems to think not inferior to the Victories of *Salamis* and *Plataea*: if so, might there not have been a little Tincture of Envy and Jealousy, as well as Vanity, in this Zeal of *Themistocles* against Tyrants?

The *Candidates* having passed with Honour through this publick Inquiry into their Lives and Characters, were led to the Altar of *Jupiter*, surnamed *Horcius* [2], from his presiding over *Oaths*. The Statue of *Jupiter Horcius* was placed in the Senate-House of the *Eleans*, and was formed to strike Terror into wicked Men, says *Pausanias*, more than any other Statues of that Deity; for in this he was represented as armed with Thunder in both Hands, and, as if that was not a sufficient Intimation of the Wrath of *Jupiter* against those who should forswear them-

[1] See the first Pythian Ode of *Pindar*.

[2] *Pauf. L. v. c. 24.* *Horcius* derived from *Horcos*, an *Oath*. The *Romans* seem to have translated the *Greek* Word *Horcios* by *Fidius*, to which joining the old Word *Dius*, signifying *Jupiter*, and the Particle *Me*, borrowed from the *Greek* *Ma*, and used by them in other Words, as *Mebercle*, *Meccastor*, they formed the Word *Medius fidius*; about which, it seems, there have been great Disputes among the Learned. Though I cannot help thinking, they may all be ended by allowing *Medius fidius* to be no other than a Translation of *Δία ἱερειον*, as I have here suggested: but this Conjecture I submit to better Judgments.

selves,

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selves, at his Feet there was a Plate of Brass, containing terrible Denunciations against the Perjured. Before this Statue were all the *Candidates*, together with their Parents, their Brethren, and the *Masters* of the *Gymnasium*, sworn upon the Limbs of a Boar, that was slain and cut up for that Purpose, that they would not be guilty of any Fraud or indirect Action, tending to a Breach of the Laws relating to the *Olympick Games*. The *Candidates* moreover swore, that they had for *ten Months* together duely performed all that was required of them, by way of preparing themselves to appear worthy of being admitted to contend for the *Olympick Crown*.

I cannot help taking Notice, with regard to this *Oath*, that it appears to have been very religiously observed: since, as the *Eleans* informed *Pausanias* [3], the first Instance of any indirect Practices made use of by any of the *Candidates* for obtaining the *Olympick Crown*, was in the 98th *Olympiad*, almost four hundred Years after the Restoration of those *Games* by *Iphitus*; from which Time to the 226th *Olympiad*, above five hundred Years more, only five Instances of the like Iniquity are produced by the same Author. The Leader of this opprobrious Band is one *Eupolus* a *Thessalian*, who bribed at one Time no less than three of his *Antagonists*, to yield him the Victory in the *Cæstus*. The Fraud and Collusion was discovered, and the Corrupter and Corrupted punished equally by Fines; with the Money arising out of which were erected

[3] Lib. v. c. 21.

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fix Statues of *Jupiter*; upon one of these was an Inscription in Verse, declaring that the *Olympick Crown* was to be obtained by *Activity* and *Strength*, and not by *Bribery* and *Corruption*. Upon another it was set forth, that this Statue was erected by the Piety of the *Eleans*, to the Honour of that Deity, and to deter all Men for the future from transgressing the Laws of the *Olympick Games*. All the other Offenders, whose Crime was of the same Nature, were punished in the same Manner; and their Infamy was in the same Manner perpetuated by Statues and Inscriptions. The Apprehensions of a like Dishonour, and the Dread, perhaps, of a Divinity, who was represented as arming himself with double Terrors for the Punishment of the Perjured, was undoubtedly the Reason that this *Oath* was so long and so generally kept by all who took it.

From the Altar of *Jupiter Horcius* the *Candidates* were conducted to the *Stadium* by their Parents, their Countrymen, and the *Masters* of the *Gymnasium* [4]; some of whom failed not to encourage them to the Combat in an exhortatory Speech; for the composing of which *Diogenes* of *Halicarnassus* has laid down several Precepts, as has been already mentioned.

In the *Stadium* they were left entirely to themselves, to stand or fall by their own Merit; excepting that the Hopes, and Fears, and Transports of their Relations and Friends, who could not help sympathizing with them in

[4] Faber's Agon.

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the several Turns and Accidents of the Combat, were allowed to break out now and then into Expressions either of Exhortation or Applause. And whoever lost the Crown, had at least the Consolation of having been thought worthy to contend for it. And indeed, considering the long and painful Discipline they were obliged to undergo, and the Qualifications required of them previously to their being received as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive*, we may very justly apply to them what *Achelous* in *Ovid* says, to palliate the Disgrace of his having been vanquished by *Hercules* :

Non tam

Turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum.

The Honour of having contended for the Victory abundantly outweighed the Disgrace of losing it.

In speaking of those, who were admitted to contend in the *Olympick Games*, I must not forget to mention, that *Boys* were allowed to be of that Number. This, it seems, was an Innovation [5], there being no Precedent for any such Custom in the *old Games* before *Iphitus*; and was introduced by the mere Authority of the *Eleans* in the 37th *Olympiad*. *Running* and *Wrestling* were at first the only two Exercises in which *Boys* were suffered to dispute the Prize with each other; but in the Forty-first *Olympiad* they were admitted to the Combat of the *Cæstus*, and in the hundred and forty-fifth to that of the *Pancratiun*; as they had been likewise to those of the *Pentathlon* in the

[5] *Pauf. L. v. c. 8.*

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38th *Olympiad*, in which Exercise *Eutelidas* the *Spartan* obtained the *Crown*. But the *Eleans* came to a Resolution that very *Olympiad*, not to allow *Boys* for the future to contend in the *Pentathlon*; which probably was looked upon as too robust and too laborious for so tender an Age. *Paus.* lib. v. c. 9. In the *Gymnastick Exercises* the *Boys*, as was most reasonable, contended with each other in *Classes*, distinct and separate from the *Men*.

That they contended also in the *Horse-Races*, is evident from what *Pausanias* [6] says of *Æsypus* the Son of *Timon*, of whom there was an *Equestrian Statue* at *Olympia*, in Memory of his having, while yet a *Boy*, obtained a Victory in the *Race of Riding-Horses*.

I have already observed, that the *Competitors* for the *Equestrian Crowns* were allowed to contend by *Proxy*; to which I must add, that it was customary likewise for a Man to hire or borrow a *Chariot* and *Horses* for that Occasion; or, which amounted to the same Thing, to prevail with a Friend, who perhaps had more *Chariots* or more *Horses* than one to run at the same Time, to enter his Name as Master of one of them; or to resign, perhaps, the Honour of a Victory in his Favour, as was twice done by *Cimon* the Father of *Miltiades*, according to *Herodotus* [7]. Under the Favour therefore of some or other of these Indulgencies, which were peculiar to the *Equestrian Exercises*, a Way was opened for *Boys* also to obtain the *Equestrian Crowns*; even supposing they were not

[6] Lib, vi, c. 2.

[7] Erato, c. 103.

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of Age or Strength sufficient to contend for them in Person ; or wealthy or independent enough to have a *Chariot* or *Horses* of their own.

I have mentioned Age, which undoubtedly was a Qualification necessary to be considered in these young Candidates for Glory ; especially upon their Admission to contend in any of the *Gymnastick Combats*. But I must acknowledge at the same Time, that I have not as yet been able to discover, what Age was requisite for their Reception into the *Class of Boys* ; nor at what Age they were esteemed *Men*, and consequently excluded from contending in that *Class*. We read indeed in *Pausanias* [8], of one *Damiscus*, who obtained a *Victory* in the *Foot-Race* at Twelve Years of Age : and the *French* [9] Translator of that Author says, that *Boys* were admitted from the Age of Twelve or Thirteen Years to that of Seventeen Years, to contend in the *Gymnastick Combat* : that under Twelve Years of Age they were reckoned too young, and above Seventeen too old ; and consequently after that Time they were ranked in the *Class of Men*. With the latter Part of this Opinion *Faber* seems also to agree, Seventeen Years being, as he says, the Age at which they were reckoned able to bear Arms.

This Opinion is indeed highly probable, but as it is not supported by any Authority out of ancient Authors, I shall leave it upon the Credit of those from whom I borrowed it ; and observe, that Children of the same Age

[8] *Eliac. L. ii. c. 2.*[9] See his Note, *Pauf. Eliac. L. ii. c. 1.*
differ

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differ so greatly from each other, both in Strength and Size, that the *Hellandicks* seem, for that very Reason, to have been left entirely at Liberty to admit or to reject such as should, upon Examination, appear to be either an under-match or an over-match for the rest of their *Antagonists*. That this was the Case may be inferred, as well from a Passage of *Plutarch* in the Life of *Agésilas*, which I shall produce presently, as from the *Oath* taken before the Statue of *Jupiter Horcius*, by such of the *Hellandicks* as were appointed to examine the *Boys* who offered themselves as *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive* [1]. The Tenour of which Oath was, "That they had, without
 " either Present or Reward, proceeded in that Examination, and determined according to the strictest Equity;
 " and that they promised farther, never to divulge the
 " Motives that had induced them to admit some and reject others." From this Oath, and particularly from the second Clause of it, as well as from the Practice of swearing the *Hellandicks* upon this Occasion, it is evident they were to judge discretionally, and according to their Consciences, not of the Age only of those young *Candidates*, which was a Matter of Fact easily and certainly to be known by inquiring either of themselves or of their Friends and Relations, and Countrymen, some of whom always accompanied them to *Olympia*, but of those other Matters already mentioned, for which no certain Rule or Measure could be prescribed; and which for that Reason

[1] *Pauf. L. v. c. 24.*

son must be submitted to the Cognizance and Determination of Discretion and Opinion only. These several Particulars are farther proved from the Passage of *Plutarch* above-mentioned, wherein he relates, that the Son of *Pharnabazus*, a *Persian Satrap*, having contracted a Friendship with *Agefilaus* King of *Sparta*, applied to him one Day in Behalf of an *Athenian* Boy [2], of whom he was very fond, and who having qualified himself for the *Stadium*, or *simple Foot-Race*, intended to offer himself as a *Candidate* for the *Olympick Crown* in the *Class* of *Boys*; but as he was very robust and tall, there was great Danger of his being rejected upon that account. But *Agefilaus*, willing to gratify the young *Persian* in this Particular, made use of all his Interest with the *Hellanodicks*, and after a great deal of Difficulty obtained his Desire.

I cannot finish this Account of the *Candidates* without taking proper Notice of the *Ladies*, who were not ashamed to be reckoned in that Number. It was a great while, indeed, before they thought of rivalling the Men in their Pretensions to a *Crown*, from which, by a kind of *Salick* Law, their Sex seemed to be entirely excluded; for they were not so much as allowed to be Spectators of these Contests for Glory: and no less a Punishment [3] than that of being cast headlong down the Precipices of

[2] ——— ἡρώσθη ἀνδρὶς παῖδος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὦν ὁ σκληρὸς ὀλυμπιάσῳ ἐκινδύνευσεν ἐκκρεῖσθαι, &c. See also the 4th Book of *Xenophon's* *Greek History*, where this Story is related. And from thence, I suppose, *Plutarch* took it.

[3] *Pauf.* L. v. c. 6.

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Mount *Typæus*, was threatened to be inflicted upon every Woman that was discovered assisting at the *Olympick Games*, or even known to have passed over the River *Alpheus* during that Solemnity. *Pausanias*, who helps us to this Particular, informs us at the same Time, that no Woman was ever taken offending against this Law, excepting one named *Callipateira* [4], or *Pherenice*, whose Husband being dead, she disguised herself in the Habit of a Master of the *Gymnasium*, in order to attend upon her Son *Pisidorus*, whom under that Character she conducted into the *Olympick Stadium*. But *Pisidorus* coming off with Conquest, the Mother, who could not contain her Transport at the Victory of her Son, was by some Accident discovered, and thereby rendered liable to the dreadful Penalty above-mentioned. The *Hellandicks*, however, out of Respect to her Father, her Brothers, and her Son, all of whom had been honoured with the *Olympick Crown*, exempted her from Punishment; but ordered, that all the Masters of the *Gymnasium*, who assisted at those Games, should, for the future, appear naked; as were all the *Gymnastick Candidates*: which was without doubt the true Reason of this Law's being at first made, as well as one of the principal Causes of its having been ever religiously observed. And yet we find in the same *Pausa-*

[4] This Matron was so famous as to have had several Names; see *Kubnius's* Note upon this Passage of *Paus.* and the *Scholium* upon the Title of the 7th *Olymp.* Ode of *Pindar*, where she is called *Aristopateira*, and the Story of her differently told. She was the Daughter of *Diagoras*, the famous *Athlete*, to whom that Ode is inscribed.

nias [5], that the *Priestesses* of *Ceres*, and even *Virgins* (those undoubtedly belonging to that Goddess, and those only) were allowed to be Spectators of these *Games*; and were seated for that Purpose upon an *Altar* of *White Marble*, that was erected on one Side of the *Stadium* opposite to the Seat of the *Hellandicks*. I must own, with *Monf. Rollin* [6], that I cannot account for so extraordinary a Proceeding; but I can by no means, like him, call the Truth of this Fact in Question; which is related in very express Terms by *Pausanias*, and with Circumstances that corroborate his Evidence: and is farther confirmed by the Testimony of *Suetonius*, in the Life of *Nero* [7]; who says, that Emperor invited the *Vestal Virgins* to see the Combats of the *Athletes*, because at *Olympia* the like Privilege was allowed to the *Priestesses* of *Ceres*. All we can say of this Matter is, that it appears [8] to have been an Honour granted, among many others, to the *Priestesses* of this Goddess in particular; whose Temple [9] was adjoining to the *Stadium* [1], and from some Circumstances

[5] *Eliac.* ii. c. 20. *Fab. Agon.* L. i. c. 9. [6] *Hist. Anc.* vol. v. p. 51. [7] *In Nero*, c. xii. [8] *Paus.* ubi sup.

[9] *Paus.* L. v. c. 21.

[1] May not another Reason for this extraordinary Privilege granted to the *Priestesses* of *Ceres* be drawn from the Situation of her Temple, which overlooked the *Stadium*; and from which perhaps it was not lawful for the *Priestesses* to depart? and may we not suppose that this Privilege, though granted out of a religious Veneration to the Goddess, was never made use of by the *Priestesses*, or the *Virgins* belonging to her?

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of whose Worship [2], which was very full of Symbols, and Mysteries, and Secrets, that no one was permitted to divulge, this Custom was in all Probability derived: so much at least seems to be intimated by the *Altar of White Marble* upon which these Priestesses and Virgins were seated, of whose Sanctity and Purity it seems at the same Time to have been no improper Emblem.

To recompense the Women for their being excluded from the *Olympick Games* [3], they also celebrated a *Festival* of their own, instituted, as it is said, in Honour of *Olympian Juno*, by *Hippodamia*, the Wife of *Pelops*. In this Festival the *Virgins*, distributed into three *Classes*, according to their different Ages contended in the *Foot-Race*; from which agreeable Spectacle, I am willing to hope, for the Sake of both Sexes, that the Men were not excluded; neither could the same Reason be pretended in the present Case, as in the former. These *Female Racers* were dressed, and, if one may be allowed to give one's Opinion upon a Matter every Way so remote from these modern Times, they were dressed in a very becoming Habit; for their Hair, according to *Pausanias*, was loose and flowing, their Mantle let down a little below the Knee, and their Right Shoulder naked as low as to the Breast. The *Races* were performed in the *Olympick Stadium*, but, out of Regard to the Debility of the tender *Racers*, the *Course* was shortened about a sixth Part. The

[2] See *Spanheim's* and the other Commentators on *Calim. Hymn to Ceres*.

[3] *Paus. L. v. c. 15.*

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Conquerers received for her Reward an *Olive Crown*, and a certain Portion of the *Heifer* that was upon this Occasion sacrificed to *Juno*. But the most agreeable Part of their Recompence, was the Liberty granted to the victorious Virgin of having her Picture drawn, and hung up in the Temple as a Memorial, at the same Time both of her Beauty and her Glory. And I question not but they were as carefull to have the Painter ready upon these Occasions, as the *Conquerors* of the other Sex were to have their *Statuaries* and *Poets*.

What Pity is it, that instead of a Picture of one of these fair Conqueresses, nothing should now remain to us but the Name of her who obtained the first *Victory*? This was *Chloris*, the youngest Daughter of *Amphion*, a Lady whose Beauty is celebrated by *Homer* [4].

The Direction [5] of this *Festival*, and the Office of presiding at these *Games*, was lodged in *sixteen Matrons*, elected for that Purpose, *two* out of each of the *eight Tribes* of the *Eleans*. These *sixteen Matrons*, who had also a like Number of Women to assist them in ordering the *Games*, composed two Choirs, one named the *Chorus* of *Physcoa*, and the other of *Hippodamia*; but whether they employed their Voices in singing the Praises of the Goddess, or of the victorious Virgins, or both, is not said; though a less important Part of their Office is mentioned, namely, the Care of weaving a *Veil*, which was spread over the *Image* of *Juno* upon her Festival.

[4] *Odyss.* A. ver. 280.

[5] *Paus.* *ibid.*

But

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But to return from this short Digression: Notwithstanding the Women, by the Institution of these Games consecrated to *Juno*, seem to have been set upon a pretty equal Footing with the Men, yet the Vanity of the latter, in over-valuing themselves upon their *Victories*, brought the Women into their *Lists*. And very fortunate was it for the Men, that these dangerous Rivals were, by the above-mentioned Law, excluded from contending in Person; and necessitated of Course to limit their Ambition to the obtaining the *Equestrian Crowns* only; for which alone it was allowable to contend by *Proxy*. The Law by which Women were forbidden to be present at the *Olympick Games*, and the Liberty granted the *Equestrian Candidates*, which I have just now mentioned, have already been so clearly and so fully stated, that I need not enter into the Question, whether *Cynisca*, and the other Ladies of *Macedonia* who afterwards followed her Example, were present at the *Olympick Games*, any farther, than to say that *Faber* [6] is of Opinion, that *Cynisca* was in Person at *Olympia*, though neither she nor any of the Female *Candidates* drove their own Chariots; which Opinion he grounds upon the Words of *Plutarch* [7], which indeed seem to imply as much. But if the Words of *Plutarch* are to be taken strictly according to the Letter, they imply, that *Cynisca* was not only present at the *Olympick Games*, but that she drove her own Chariot; which is

[6] Agon. L. i. c. 26.

[7] See Plut. in Agefi. & Lacon. Apophth. & Xeno. in Agefi.

contrary

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contrary to what *Faber* himself allows, and to the Testimony of her own Monument of this Victory [8]: which consisted of the Statues of her *four Horses* in *Brass*, a little less than the Life, her *Chariot* and her *Charioteer*, and her own *Picture* drawn by *Apelles*. Besides, as her being present was not at all necessary, there was no Occasion for the *Hellænodicks* to dispense in her Favour with the Observation of a Law, which in all other Cases was to be obeyed under the Penalty of Death. She had Reason to be contented, one would think, with being admitted to contend for a *Crown*; the Value of which she had been most maliciously prevailed upon to bring into Discredit, by shewing from her own Example, that the Women might as well pretend to that Honour as the Men. Such at least was the Intention of her Brother *Agefilaus*, who persuaded her for that Reason to make the Experiment. But he seems to have been disappointed in the Event. The *Olympick Crown* kept up its Value; and instead of being depreciated by the Competition of a Woman, gave such a Lustre to *Cynisca*, that the several Arts of *Poetry*, *Painting*, *Architecture*, and *Statuary*, were all employed by herself or her Countrymen, to deliver down to Posterity the Memory of her Glory.

[8] *Pauf.* L. vi. c. 1. & L. v. c. 12.

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SECTION XVI.

Of the Olympick Crown, and other Honours and Rewards conferred upon the Conquerors.

THE first Reward bestowed upon the *Conquerors*, and the Pledge of many consequent Honours, Privileges, and Immunities (all of which I propose to treat of in this Section) was a *Chaplet* or *Crown*, composed of the Branches of a *Wild Olive*.

To enhance the Value of these *Olive Chaplets*, and render them in some Degree worthy of those *Games*, which by way of Eminence were styled *Holy*, the *Eleans* pretended that the *Tree*, from whence they were always taken, was originally brought to *Olympia* by *Hercules* [1], from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*; a People, whose Situation no Geographer, either ancient or modern, has yet been able to determine. *Pindar* gives the Honour of this Exploit to *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmene*, though, as we learn from *Pausanias*, it was by others ascribed to the *Idean Hercules*, who was earlier by some Generations.

But as there were many Plants of the same kind growing in the *Altis* of *Olympian Jupiter*, several of which might equally pretend to the same venerable Original, to obviate all Doubts and Scruples relating to the *Sacred Olive*, that might arise either from the above Consi-

[1] *Pindar's Olymp. Ode 3.* see the Note there.

deration,

deration, or from the long Interval, which had passed between the Time in which these *Heroes* flourished, and that in which *Iphitus* re-instituted the *Olympick Games*; the *Eleans* farther pretended, that it was indicated to them by the *Delpbick Oracle*. This Account, though not taken Notice of by *Pausanias*, or any other Author, as I remember, is preserved to us in a Fragment of *Phlegon*, and is as follows: “ During the first *five Olympiads* [after the Restoration of those Games by *Iphitus*] no one, says he, was crown’d; but in the *sixth* the People of *Elis* came to a Resolution, to consult the Oracle about giving Crowns to the Conquerors. For this Purpose they sent *Iphitus* their King to *Delphi*, to whom the God gave this Answer:

To the swift Victor be no more assign’d
The bleating Offspring of the fleecy kind.
But from the *Olive*, which spontaneous grows
In *Pisa’s Vale*, a verdant Crown compose;
That *Olive*, round whose venerable Head
Her subtle Textures hath *Arachne* spread.

“ *Iphitus*, upon his Return to *Olympia*, having discovered, among the many wild *Olives* that grew in the Sacred Grove, one which was covered with Cobwebs, enclosed it with a Wall; and from this Tree was a Chaplet or Crown taken and given to the Conquerors. The first who was crown’d was *Daicles* of *Messene*, who in the seventh *Olympiad* gained the Victory in the Stadium, or simple Foot-Race.”

From

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From this Account we also learn, that the *Prize* originally bestowed upon the *Olympick* Conquerors was a *Lamb*. And some learned Moderns have imagined, that in some Periods of these Games, the *Crowns* given to the *Victors* were of *Gold*. But, as I think, they have mistaken the Passages upon which they found their Opinion, I shall pass it over with this Observation only; that considering the Number of *Exercises*, of which in Process of Time the *Olympick Games* consisted, in each of which the *Victor* was entitled to a *Prize*, the Honour of presiding at the *Olympick Games* must have been very expensive to the *Eleans* in that Article alone, had these *Prizes* been of any considerable Value. And it is probable that the *Eleans*, foreseeing this, might, out of good Oeconomy, be desirous of changing the *original Prize*, a *Lamb*, though of no great Value, for the cheaper one of a *Crown*, composed of the Branches of a *Wild Olive*: to sanctify which Alteration, and give a Lustre to their *Olive Chaplet*, they had Recourse to Fables, and the Authority of the *Delphick Oracle*.

With the same View they not only surrounded this *sacred Olive* with a Wall, and distinguished it by the Name of *Callistephanos*, *i. e.* the Tree of the *Crowns* of *Glory*, but put it also under the Protection of certain *Nymphs* [2], or inferior Deities; whom from their Office they likewise surnamed *Callistephani*; and to whom they erected an Altar near that *consecrated Plant*.

[2] Pauf, L. v.

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To excite the Emulation of the Competitors, by placing in their View the Object of their Ambition, these Crowns were laid upon a Tripod, or Table, which during the Games was brought out and placed in the Middle of the Stadium, or of the Hippodrome [3], according as the respective Exercises required. In the Interval of the Games [4] they were kept, the former in the Temple of Jupiter, the latter in the Temple of Juno at Olympia. The Tripod was of Brass, and seems to have been entirely laid aside after the Table was made, which was composed of Gold and Ivory, the Workmanship of Colotes of Paros, a Disciple of Pasiteles.

Upon the same Table were also exposed to View, Branches of Palm, which the Conquerors received at the same Time with the Crowns, and carried in their Hands, as Emblems [5] (says Plutarch) of the unsuppressive Vigour of their Minds and Bodies, evidenced in their getting the better of their Antagonists; and surmounting all Opposition, like those Plants, whose Property it was, according to the Opinion of the Ancients, to rise and flourish under the greatest Weights, and against all Endeavours to bend or keep them down.

[3] It is probable, that in the *Basso Relievo* representing the old Hippodrome at Constantinople (a Print of which is inserted in *Wheeler's Travels*, p. 183.) the Four Pillars supporting a kind of Frame, were only the Legs of a Table, serving the Use above-mentioned. Which Mr. Wheeler not considering, says, he could not conjecture what it was for, unless only for Ornament.

[4] Pauf. L. v.

[5] Symp. L. viii. Quæst. 4.

Though

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Though the *Conquerors* were immediately, upon their gaining the *Victory*, entituled to the *Chaplet* and the *Palm*, yet *Faber* [6] conjectures, from a Passage of *Chrysofome*, that they who contended in the *Morning Exercifes*, did not receive their *Crowns* till Noon; at which Time it may also be inferred from the same Passage, that the *Spectators*, as well as the *Candidates*, were dismissed in order to take some Refreshment before the *Afternoon Exercifes* came on; the *Conquerors* in which were in like Manner obliged to wait for their Reward till the Evening. And inded, as every Part of these *Games* was conducted with the utmost Order and Decency, it is not natural to suppose that the Course of the *Exercifes* was interrupted, by giving the *Crown* to every single *Conqueror* as soon as he had obtained his *Victory*, especially as that Solemnity was attended with a great deal of Ceremony.

It was performed (as far as I have been able to collect from several Passages scattered up and down in ancient Authors) in the following Manner:

The *Conquerors* being summoned by Proclamation, marched in Order to the Tribunal of the *Hellanodicks* [7], where a *Herald*, taking the *Crowns* of *Olive* from the *Table* [8], placed one upon the Head of each of the *Conquerors*; and giving into their Hands *Branches* of *Palm*, led them in that Equipage along the *Stadium*, preceded by *Trumpets*, proclaiming at the same Time with a loud Voice,

[6] Agon. L. i. c. 30. [7] *Ælian*. L. ix. c. 51. [8] *Cic.*
Epist. ad Luc. Plut. de se ipso laud.

their

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their Names, the Names of their Fathers, and their Countries ; and specifying the particular *Exercise* in which each of them had gained the Victory. The Form made use of in that Proclamation, seems to have been conceived in these or such like Terms ; viz. “ *Diagoras* the Son “ of *Damagetus* of *Rhodes*, Conqueror in the *Cæstus* in the “ *Class* of Men ;” and so of the rest, whether Men or Boys, *mutatis mutandis*. That in which the *Victories* of *Nero* were published, is recorded by *Dio Cassius* [9], for the Singularity, I suppose, of the Style, as well as the Eminency of the Conqueror, and the Quality of the Herald, whose Name, as the same Author informs us, was *Cluvius Rufus*, a Man of *Consular Dignity*. Take it, together with the short, but sarcastical Reflection of the Historian upon it, in the very Words, as near as I could translate them into *English* [1] : *Nero Cæsar is victorious in this Game, and imparts the Honour of this Chaplet to the Roman People, and to all the Inhabitants of the World, his Subjects*. He styled himself, says *Dio Cassius*, Lord of the World, and yet turned *Harper, Crier, and Tragedian*. To illustrate this wonderfull Piece of History, I shall observe, that this vain but mean Lord of the Universe, besides his Victory in the *Chariot-Race* at *Olympia* (which I have already mentioned) obtained many others in the several Games of *Greece* [2] (in all which he contended) as a *Musician*, a

[9] In Nerone.

[1] Νέρων Καίσαρ νικᾷ πρὸς τὴν ἀγῶνα, καὶ σεφανὸς πύλε τῶν Ῥωμαίων δῶμον καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκωμένην.

[2] Dioq. in Nerone.

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Crier, and a *Tragedian*; to which he sometimes added the farther Indecency of proclaiming, in the Quality of a *Crier*, his own Victories [3]: and to fit himself for this honourable Employment, he every where contended publicly with the *Criers* or *Heralds*, who, without doubt, were very carefull not to out-baul the Master of twenty Legions.

Although the *Olympick Crowns* were all composed of the Branches of the *Sacred Olive*, yet, I imagine, they were distinguished from each other, either by the Difference of their Form, or the Addition of some emblematick Ornament peculiar to the several Exercises. The *Racer's Crown* was different from the *Wrestler's*, and so all the rest. This I acknowledge to be a mere Conjecture of my own; founded indeed upon no positive Authority of any Writer, either ancient or modern; but countenanced, as I think, by a Passage of *Plutarch* [4], where speaking of the different Talents and Fortunes of Mankind, he advises us to be contented with our own, and not envy those of other Men; like the *Racers*, continues he, who are not dissatisfied at not obtaining the *Wrestlers Crowns*, but triumph and are happy in their own. These Words, I confess, will bear a more general Sense, and may mean no more than that the *Racers* do not envy the *Wrestlers* their Victory. And yet I am persuaded, that, had there been no Mark, by which these *Crowns* were distinguished from each other, he would have expressed himself other-

[3] Suet. in Nero.

[4] De Tranq. Animi.

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wise. For to say in general, that the *Racers* did not envy the *Wrestlers* the *Olympick Crown*, would not be strictly true, any more than to say here in *England*, that an *Admiral* does not envy a *General* the *Garter* or a *Peerage*; because those Honours are indifferently bestowed upon both, and may therefore be the Object of the Ambition of either. But among the *Romans* it might with great Propriety and Truth be said, that a Man, who had distinguished himself in a Sea-Engagement, and obtained a *Crown* as a Reward for his Valour, did not envy his Fellow-Citizen the *Crown* which he had gained at a Siege; because those *Crowns* were known to be different, and appropriated to distinct Services. However, I shall submit this, with many other Things of the like uncertain Nature, to the more judicious Reader. As to the *emblematick Ornaments*, which I mentioned above, I can produce but little better Authority in Support of this Part of my Conjecture, than of the former. *Plutarch*, in his Discourse upon the *Face in the Moon*, speaking of the Souls, which, after the first Death here upon Earth, and the Purgatory which they undergo for some Time in the Regions between the Earth and that Planet, are translated to the Moon, says, that as a Mark of their Constancy, they, like the *Conquerors*, wear Chaplets of ($\pi\lambda\epsilon\sigma\omega\nu$) *Plumes*, or *Wings*: and *Pindar*, in his 14th *Olymp. Ode*, to denote the Victory of *Asopichus* in the *Foot-Race*, says, he crowned his Head with the *Wings* ($\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\iota$) or *Plumes of the famous Games*. The same Word, and used in the same Sense, oc-

curs

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curs again in the 9th *Pythian* Ode. The *Scholiast*, and all the Interpreters agree, that by these Words *Pindar* means the *Olympick* and *Pythick* Crowns; which, say they, he calls *Wings*, because they *elevate* and *exalt*. But I can by no means approve of this Solution, and think the Expression too bold to be justified, even in that Kind of Poetry called *Dithyrambick*, which, by all we know of it, seems to have been the Production of such great Wits, as, according to *Dryden*, are near allied to Madness. Would an *English* Poet be allowed to say, that a Man received the *Order* of the *Wing*, to signify that he was made *Knight* of the *Garter*? And yet it might be justified in him as well as in *Pindar*, by the same Kind of Reasoning. For my Part, I cannot help concluding from these two Passages, compared with that of *Plutarch*, that either the *Conquerors* in general (for the Words in *Plutarch* are general) besides the Chaplet peculiar to the *Games*, received another composed of *Wings* or *Plumes*; or that the *Racers* Chaplet in particular was adorned with *Plumes* or *Wings*, the proper and known Emblems of Swiftnefs. In Support of which Conjecture, I desire it may be observed, that the Odes, in which *Pindar* uses this Expression, are both of them inscribed to *Conquerors* in the *Foot-Race*. *Plutarch*, in the Passage above cited, speaks of *Wings* as the Symbols of Constancy. I shall not inquire into the Reason or Propriety of this Symbol, but observe, that a *Chaplet* of *Wings*, considered as the Symbols of Constancy, belonged

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equally (and were probably given) to all the Conquerors, as the Words of *Plutarch* seem to imply.

That different Degrees of Merit were rewarded with different Degrees of Honour, and consequently with different *Crowns*, I infer from these Words, of *St Basil* [5]: “No *President* of the *Games*, says he, is so devoid of Judgment, as to think a Man, who for want of an Adversary hath not contended, deserves the same Crown “(ὅσων σεφάων) as one, who hath contended and overcome.” That he, who for want of an *Antagonist* was proclaimed *Conqueror*, did receive a *Crown*, is evident from the Epigram upon *Milo* (which I have produced at the End of a former Section) and many Passages in *Pausanias*; and that the *Crown*, which in that Case he was entitled to, was different from that which he would have received, had he contended and vanquished, may, I think, be fairly concluded from the Words of *St. Basil*, above cited. *Alcibiades* [6], who sent seven Chariots at one Time to the *Olympick Games*, gained the first, second, and fourth Prizes, which were so many *Crowns* of Olive [7]: and these *Crowns*, in all Probability, differed from each other, as they were the Rewards of different Degrees of Merit. To this let me add, that the *Charioteers*, and even the

[5] Apud Fab. Agon. L. iii. Cap. 1.

[6] Plut. in Al. Thuc. Iso. in Bigi.

[7] This will appear to any one, who shall compare the Fragment of the Ode which *Euripides* composed upon this Occasion, with what *Plutarch*, and *Thucydides*, and *Isocrates*, and *Euripides* himself, in the same Place, say of the three Victories of *Alcibiades*; by which also it is plain, that instead of δις σεφάινε ἰλαίς it should be τρίς.

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Horses, were rewarded with *Crowns*, which can hardly be supposed to have been the same with those bestowed upon their Masters; though no Notice is taken by any ancient Author, of any Difference or Distinction in these several *Crowns*.

Though the *Olive-Chaplet* seems to have been the only Reward which the *Hellanodicks* conferred upon the *Conquerors*, yet were there many other, no less glorious and no less pleasing Recompences attending their *Victories*, as well from the Spectators in general, as from their own Countrymen, Friends, and Relations in particular; some of which they received even before they were put in Possession of the *Crown*. Such were the Acclamations and Applauses of that numerous Assembly; the warm Congratulations of their Friends, and even the faint and extorted Salutations of their Maligners and Opponents. These broke out immediately upon their Victory, and were as Lenients to their Wounds, and Cordials to their Toils; and enabled them to support with Patience the farther Toil of waiting, perhaps many Hours, for the *Crown*; which was no inconsiderable Matter after a hard-fought Battle or long-contested Victory, especially if they were to stand all that Time in the *Stadium*, naked and exposed, in that hottest Season of the Year, to the Rays of the Sun; and that in a Place, where the Heat was so violent, that Slaves were sometimes, by way of Punishment, condemned to suffer it for a whole Summer's Day together.

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As they passed along the *Stadium*, after they had received the *Crown*, they were again saluted with the Acclamations of the Spectators, accompanied with a Shower of Herbs and Flowers, poured on them from every Side; as may be collected from what *Pausanias* relates [7] of *Diagoras* the *Rhodian*, to whom *Pindar* [8] inscribes his seventh *Olympick* Ode; in which he enumerates his several Victories in almost all the *Games* of *Greece*. This venerable Conqueror is said to have accompanied his two Sons, *Acusilaus* and *Damagetus*, to the *Olympick Games*, in which the young Men coming off victorious, *Acusilaus* in the *Cæstus*, and *Damagetus* in the *Pancratiun*, took their Father on their Shoulders, and carried him as it were in Triumph along the *Stadium*, amid the Shouts and Acclamations of the Spectators; who poured Flowers on him as he passed, and hailed him happy in being the Father of such Sons [9].

It was farther customary, for the Friends of the Conquerors to express their particular Respect to them, by going up to them, accosting them, and presenting them with Chaplets of Herbs, &c. binding their Heads with *Fillets*, Ribbons [1], &c.

[7] Lib. vi.

[8] See the *Scoliaſt* on the 4th *Pyth.* Ode of *Pindar*, ver. 426.

[9] There are some Additions to this Story, which I shall take Notice of in another Place.

[1] See *Thuc.* L. iv. *sub fin.* where are these Words; ἰδὲ δὲ, ἱστάνεν τε, καὶ προσέκειτο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῶν, the Story of *Lichas* quoted in a former Section, and the last mentioned Passage of *Pindar*.

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The last Duty performed by the Conquerors at *Olympia*, was sacrificing [2] to the Twelve Gods, who were worshipped, *two* at one Altar, as I have already observed, and sometimes to *Olympick Jupiter* in particular. These Sacrifices some of them performed with so much Magnificence, as to entertain the whole Multitude which were gathered together at that Solemnity; as did *Alcibiades* [3], *Leophron*, and *Empedocles* [4]. But this last being a *Pythagorean*, and for that reason abstaining from all animal Food, distributed to the Assembly an *Ox*, composed of Honey, Flour, Frankincense, Myrrh, and other Spices of great Value.

Others, who had less Ability, or perhaps less Vanity, were contented to feast only their own Friends, or probably were sometimes feasted by them; and perhaps by the *Eleans* themselves, the Superintendants of the *Olympick Games*. For so much seems to be intimated by *Pausanias*, who says, that in the *Prytaneum*, or *Town-Hall* of *Olympia*, there was a *Banqueting Room* set apart for the entertaining the *Olympick Conquerors*. At these Entertainments, whether publick or private, were frequently sung by a *Chorus*, accompanied with Instrumental Musick, such *Odes* as were composed upon that Occasion in Honour of the *Conqueror*. But it was not the good Fortune of every *Conqueror* to have a Poet for his Friend; or to be able to pay the Price of an Ode, which the Poets rated very high,

[2] Pind. Olymp. Ode 5. and the Scholiast.

[3] Athen. Deip. L. i. [4] Ibid. & Lact. in his Life.

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according to the following Story related by the *Scholiast* of *Pindar* [5]. The Friends of one *Pytheas*, a Conqueror in the *Nemean Games*, came to *Pindar*, and desired him to make an Ode upon the Occasion; but the Poet demanding a large Sum [6] of Money for his Performance, they replied, it was better to have a Statue of Brass erected for that Money, than a Copy of Verses, and went their ways. But some Time after having changed their Opinions, they returned to *Pindar* and paid him his Price: who, in Allusion to the above-mentioned Transaction, begins his Ode with setting forth, that he was *no Statuary*, no Maker of Images that could not stir from their Pedestals, and consequently were to be seen only by those, who would give themselves the Trouble to go to the Place where they were erected; but he could make a *Poem*, which should fly over the whole Earth, and publish in every Place that *Pytheas* had gained the *Crown* in the *Nemean Games*, &c. *Pindar*, as was natural, gives the Preference to his own Art, Poetry; so did the Friends of *Pytheas*: and *Pindar's* Works are now, after two thousand Years, remaining still, to prove that they were neither of them mistaken.

Those Conquerors, who could not attain to the Honour of an Ode on their particular Victory, were obliged to take up with one made by *Archilochus* in Praise of *Hercules*, which, as we learn from *Pindar* [7] and his Scho-

[5] Nem. Ode 5. [6] See hereafter the Note on the 2^d *Isthmian* Ode of *Pindar*. [7] Olymp. Ode 9.

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liast, it was customary to sing three several Times to the Conqueror, *viz.* in the *Stadium*, as I suppose, at the Time of his being proclaimed *Conqueror*; in the *Gymnasium*; and in his own Country, at the Solemnity of his *Triumphal Entry* there. Of this Ode nothing has come down to us but the two first Verses, preserved by the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*: the three first Words of which, *viz.* Ω Καλλίνικε, χαῖρε, *O glorious Victor, hail!* seem, by the Account which the *Scholiast* gives of this Ode, to have been the only ones applicable to the *Olympick Conquerors* (the rest belonging to *Hercules*) and were sometimes, perhaps, the only ones made use of, especially when the *Chorus* consisted of none but the Friends of the *Conqueror*: which, as many of these *Conquerors* were not rich enough to hire a Band of Singers and Musicians, must have often been the Case. To supply the Want of a Musician, *Archilochus* framed a Word in Imitation of the Sound of a Harp, which Word (*Tenella*, Τηνέλλα) when there happened to be no Musician present, the *Leader* of the *Chorus* chanted forth, and was answered by the rest of the *Chorus* in the Words of the Ode, Ω Καλλίνικε, *O glorious Victor*, &c, at every Comma, or Pause of which, this Burden was again repeated, as *Pindar's Scholiast* informs us, from whom I have taken this whole Account.

To perpetuate the Glory of these *Victories*, the *Hellandicks* entered into a *publick Register* the Names of the *Conquerors*; specifying, without Doubt, the particular Exercise and Class, whether of *Men* or *Boys*, in which each

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had been victorious; together with the Number of the *Olympiad*. I have already taken Notice, in another Place, of the glorious Distinction paid to the *Conquerors* in the *Stadium*, by marking the *Olympiad* with their Names, and therefore shall say nothing of it here, but shall proceed to the last, though not the least Honour granted by the *Hellandicks* to the *Conquerors*; and this was the Privilege of having their *Statues* set up in the *Altis*, or *sacred Grove* of *Jupiter* at *Olympia*.

Though the *Conquerors* themselves, their Friends, and sometimes their Country [8], were at the Expence of these *Statues*, yet were they restrained by the *Olympick* Laws from indulging that too common Vanity of misrepresenting the Size and Stature [9] of their Bodies, and obliged to make their *Statues* no bigger than the Life: in examining of which, says *Lucian*, the *Hellandicks* were more exact than in examining the *Candidates* themselves. And if they found any in this Particular offending against the Truth, they punished them very properly with throwing down their *Statues*.

Cornelius Nepos, in his Life of *Chabrias*, says, that in Imitation of that General, who had caused his Statue to be made in a peculiar Attitude, expressing a particular Position of the Body, by the Invention and Use of which he and his Army had obtained a considerable Victory, it became customary with the *Conquerors* in the Games, &c.

[8] *Pauf.* L. vi.[9] *Lucian.* *Imag.*

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to represent in their *Statues* the *Attitudes, Habits, &c.* in which they had gained the *Crown*.

Thus for Instance, the *Statue* of *Damaretus* [1], who was the first that obtained the *Victory* in the *Race* of *armed Men*, is described by *Pausanias* with a *Shield*, a *Helmet*, and *Buskins*, the proper Equipage of those who contended in that Exercise : and that of *Ladas* (an eminent *Racer*) made by *Myron*, as eminent a Statuary, was formed in the very Action of Running ; and seems, according to the Account given of it in a very beautiful *Greek Epigram* [2], to have expressed not the *Attitude* of the Body only, but that of the Mind also (if I may so speak) the *Hopes*, the *Expectation*, the *Affurance* of the *Victory*, in so lively a Manner, that it is going this Moment, cries the Poet, to leap from its *Pedestal* and seize the *Crown*.

But the Conquerors were not contented to consecrate *themselves* only in this Manner to Fame and *Jupiter* ; they sometimes set up the *Statues* of their *Charioteers*, and even of their *Horses*, as may be seen in *Pausanias* [3] ; and sometimes they dedicated the very *Chariots* themselves in which they had gained the *Victory* : an Instance of which I have quoted in a former Section, from *Pindar's* fifth *Pyth. Ode*.

It is plain, however, from a Passage in *Philostratus*, cited by *Fab. Agon.* lib. iii. c. 12. that this *Privilege* of a *Statue* was not granted to those *Conquerors* who were of mean Occupations, or had exercised any *Handicraft Trade*.

[1] *Pauf.* L. vi. [2] *Anthol.* L. iv. [3] *Lib.* vi.

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In the sixth Book of *Pausanias* may be seen a large List of Statues erected in the *Altis* of *Olympian Jupiter*, in Honour of those *Conquerors*, who had distinguished themselves, either by the Number or the Singularity of the *Victories*. A List, though too large to be inserted, yet proper to be mentioned in this *Dissertation*; as tending not only to confirm what has been said relating to the Statues of the *Olympick Conquerors*, but also to give the Reader an Idea of the Magnificence of *Olympia*; where, besides the numerous Temples, Altars, and Images of Gods, there was to be seen, even in the Times of *Pausanias*, an almost incredible Quantity of Statues of Men, Boys, Horses, &c. many of them made by those great Artists, whom no one since hath ever pretended to excell.

We must now take our Leave of *Olympia*, and pass with the *Conquerors* to their several Countries, where we shall find still more Honours, more advantageous Privileges, and more substantial Rewards conferred upon them.

The publick Honours paid to them upon their returning into their own Countries were very extraordinary; and such as not only equalled the Glory, but resembled also the Pomp of a *Roman Triumph*; which I doubt not indeed was originally derived from the splendid *Entries* of these *sacred Conquerors* into their own Cities.

In the Account [4] which *Xiphiline*, the Abridger of *Dio Cassius*, hath written of the *triumphal Entry* of *Nero*

[4] Dio Cass. in Nero.

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into *Rome*, after his Victories in *Greece*, are contained most of the Particulars of this Ceremony. I shall therefore give a Translation of the whole Passage, adding to it such farther Circumstances as I find mentioned in other Authors.

“ When therefore he [*Nero*] made his *publick Entry* into
 “ *Rome*, *Part of the Walls* was thrown down, and a large
 “ *Breach* was made in the *Gates*, upon an Information gi-
 “ ven him by some People, that it was customary to have
 “ both those Things done for such who had obtained the
 “ *Crown* in the *sacred Games*. The March was begun by
 “ those who carried the several *Crowns* which the Em-
 “ peror had gained. These were followed by others,
 “ who bore upon the Tops of *Spears* little *Tablets*, where-
 “ in were specified the *Games*, the particular *Contest*,
 “ against what *Antagonists*, by what *Pieces of Musick*, and
 “ in what *Plays* [5], he had come off victorious; to each
 “ of which was added, *That Nero Cæsar* was the first
 “ *Roman*, from the Beginning of the *World*, who had been
 “ proclaimed *Victor* in this *Contest*. Afterwards came the
 “ Emperor himself, in a *triumphal Chariot* (the very same
 “ which *Augustus* had made use of in his *Triumphs* for the
 “ many glorious Victorious he had gained) in a *Robe* of
 “ *Purple* [6], embroidered with *Stars of Gold*, crowned with
 “ the *Olympick Olive*, and holding the *Pythian Laurel* in
 “ his Hand, and with him rode the *Harper Diodorus*. In
 “ this Manner, attended by the *Soldiers*, the *Roman*

[5] Suet. in *Nero*.

[6] *Ibid*.

Knights,

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“ *Knights*, and the *Senate*, he proceeded through the
 “ *Circus* [7] (an Arch of which he had caused to be de-
 “ molished) and the *Forum* up to the *Capitol*; and from
 “ thence to the *Palace* [8] and the *Temple of Apollo*: the
 “ whole City in the mean Time lighting up *Lamps* or
 “ *Torches*, wearing *Crowns* and *Ribbons*, and burning *In-*
 “ *cense* [9]; while all the Multitude, and the *Senators* in
 “ particular, cried out [1] *Oua, Olympick Conqueror! Oua,*
 “ *Pythian Conqueror! Augustus! Augustus! To Nero Her-*
 “ *cules! To Nero Apollo! How singular* [2] *in thy Glory!*
 “ *The only one, who hath passed through the whole Circle of*
 “ *Games, and come off victorious in them all! The only one*
 “ *from the Beginning of the World! Augustus, Augustus! O*
 “ *Voice* [3] *Divine! Happy are they that hear thee!* In
 “ many Places as he passed along there were *Victims* slain:
 “ the Streets were several Times strewed with [4] *Saffron,*
 “ and *Birds, Ribbons, and Confections* were cast into them.
 “ After these Things he appointed *Chariot-Races* in the
 “ *Circus*, whither he brought all the *Crowns* that he had
 “ gained [5], and placed them round the *Ægyptian*

[7] Suet. in Nero. [8] Ibid. [9] Ibid.

[1] So it is in the Original, a Word of Exclamation, importing, as appears from this Passage, the same as *Huzza* in *English*.

[2] The Word in the Original is *Περισσόνως*, which cannot be rendered into *English* but by a Periphrasis.

[3] Alluding to the Victory he obtained in the Musical and Poetical Contests in the *Pythian Games*.

[4] Suet. in Nero. *Ingestæque Aves, Lemnisci et Bellaria.*

[5] Dio Cass. in Nero.

“ *Obelisk.*

“ O
 “ hu
 T
 the
 were
 mak
 all F
 trium
 by h
 unde
 the
 Augu
 Rom
 Wor
 T
 their
 only
 anot
 son i
 inha
 the O
 V
 Sacre
 Neme
 draw
 Exæ
 victo
 [6]

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“*Obelisk*. These were in Number One thousand Eight hundred and Eight.”

That it may not be imagined, that the greatest Part of the Circumstances attending this magnificent Procession were peculiar to *Nero*, as Emperor of the World, I shall make it appear from several Instances, that *Nero* was in all Probability governed, as to the Ceremonial of this *triumphal Entry*, by what was done on the like Occasions by his Brother *Conquerors of Greece*. He surpassed them undoubtedly in Splendour and Magnificence. He had the Wealth of the *Roman Empire*, the *triumphal Chariot of Augustus*, the *Prætorian Bands*, the *Knights and Senators of Rome*, for his Attendants; and the *Metropolis* of all the World for the Theatre of his Pomp.

That it was customary for the *sacred Conquerors* to make their *Entry* through a *Breach* in the *Walls*, is evident not only from the above-cited Passage of *Dio Cass.* but from another in the *Symposiacks* of *Plutarch* [6], where a Reason is assigned for that Custom, *viz.* *That a City, which is inhabited by Men, who are able to fight and conquer, hath little Occasion for Walls.*

Vitruvius informs us [7], that the *Conquerors* in the *Sacred Games*, *viz.* the *Olympick, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean*, were accustomed to make their *Entries* in *Chariots* drawn by *four Horses*; and *Diodorus Sic.* [8], speaking of *Exænetus* of *Agrigentum*, who in the 92^d *Olympiad* came off victorious in the *Olympick Games*, says, he entered *Agrigentum*

[6] See also *Suet.* in *Nero*.

[7] *Lib. ix. init.*

[8] *Lib. xiii. gentum*

gentum in a *Chariot* drawn by *four Horses*, attended by a great Multitude of his Fellow-Citizens; among whom were three hundred mounted in so many *Chariots*, drawn each by a *Pair* of white Horses.

That the *Olympick Conquerors* wore *embroidered Garments*, may be collected from a Passage in *Lucian* [9]; though it is not so clear what Colour the *Ground* of those *Garments* was of: *Faber* [1] thinks they were at first of one Colour, either *White* or *Purple*, and that they were not work'd or embroidered 'till about the Time of *Lucian*. But as *Nero*, in the *Cavalcade* above-described, seems to have been governed in every Particular by the Practice of the *Greeks* on the like Occasion, and as we find him dressed in a *Purple*, or *Scarlet Robe*, *embroidered with Stars of Gold*, we may very fairly conclude that a *Purple*, or *Scarlet Robe embroidered*, though perhaps not in the same Pattern nor with so rich Materials, was the *triumphal Habit* of an *Olympick Conqueror*, before the Times of *Lucian*.

Though the Degree of Servility and Adulation, to which the *Romans* were at this Time arrived, may be supposed to have carried them to some Excess in the Honours paid by the whole City of *Rome* to *Nero* at his *Triumphal Entry*; such as *burning Incense*, *slaying Victims*, *strewn the Streets with Saffron*, &c. as he passed along: Honours which might well be thought due to him, whom the *Senators* in their Acclamations dignified, and as it were *deified*, by the Titles of *Hercules* and *Apollo*; and of

[9] In *Vita Demonac.*[1] *Agon*, L. ii. c. 12.

which

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which I cannot find any Instances among the *Greeks*: yet the Custom of carrying lighted *Lamps*, or *Torches*, before the *sacred Conquerors*, is mentioned by *Chrysostome* [2]; and that of the whole City's wearing *Crowns* and *Ribbons*, is shewn by *Paschalius* [3], to have obtained universally, among the *Greeks* in particular, upon all Occasions of publick Festivity, among which are to be reckoned these *triumphal Entries* of the *sacred Conquerors*. In the same Author likewise we may learn, that it was usual to cast upon the *Conqueror*, as he pass'd along, *Herbs*, *Leaves*, *Flowers*, *Chaplets*, and *Ribbons*, or *Fillets* (*ταβίαις*) which two last, *viz.* *Chaplets* and *Ribbons*, were sometimes presented to them on these Occasions by their private and particular Friends.

We have seen above, that *Nero's Cavalcade* proceeded first to the *Capitol*, and then to the *Temple of Apollo*; where, doubtless, he offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, the *Patron* of the *Olympick*, and to *Apollo*, the *Patron* of the *Pythian Games*. And in this I think it highly probable (though I cannot at present support my Opinion by any positive Authorities) that he imitated the *sacred Conquerors* of *Greece*; whose *triumphal Cavalcades* I cannot help considering as *religious Processions*, ending with Sacrifices of *Thanksgiving*, either to the *Tutelary Deity* of the Place, or to the *Patron* of those *Games*, in which they had gained the *Victory*, and perhaps to both. If we look upon them

[2] Apud Fab. Agon. L. ii. c. 10.
L. vi. c. 22.

[3] De Corona, L. ii. c. 11.

in this Light, and remember at the same Time that the *Country* of the *Conqueror* shared with him in the Glory accruing from his *Victory*, we shall be the less surprized at finding these *Triumphs* accompanied with so much Solemnity and Pomp. They were indeed publick Festivals, in which the whole State was concerned; though I suppose the Magnificence, with which they were celebrated, bore always some Proportion to the Wealth and Dignity of the *Conquerors* themselves or of their Friends, or to that Degree of Estimation in which they stood with their Fellow-Citizens. To one or other of these at least they were indebted for those *Odes* which were written purposely for them, set to Musick, and sung by a Chorus [4], either during the Procession or in the Temples of the Deities, or at the sumptuous Entertainments made on these Occasions either by the *Conquerors* or their Friends. If neither the *Conqueror* nor his Friends were able or willing to procure a particular *Ode* in honour of his *Victory*, he was obliged to content himself with that made by *Archilochus*, or perhaps with a Part of it; as I have before observed in the Account, which hath already been given of this *Ode* from the *Scholiast* of *Pindar*.

How sumptuous these Entertainments (called by the *Greeks* νικητήρια, i. e. *Feasts of Victory*) sometimes were, and with how much Emulation the Friends of the *Con-*

[4] Instances of what I here advance relating to the several Places where these *Odes* were sung, shall be given in my Notes on the *Odes* of *Pindar*.

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queror contended with each other for the Honour of entertaining him, may be collected from the following Story told by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Phocion*: *Phocus*, the Son of that great Man, having obtained a Victory in the *Panathenean Games*, and being invited by several of his Friends to accept of an Entertainment on that Occasion, *Phocion* at length ended the Dispute by pitching upon one, to whom he thought that Preference was due. But when he came to the Feast, and saw the extravagant Preparations that were made for it, and among other Things large Vessels filled with Wine and Spices set before the Guests when they came in, to wash their Feet, he said to his Son, *Phocus*, *why don't you make your Friend desist from dishonouring your Victory?*

I shall finish this Account of the *publick Entries* of the *Conquerors*, with observing, that as among the *Romans* every Victory did not entitle a General to the Honour of a *Triumph*, so neither among the *Greeks* did a Victory in any *Games* (of which the Number in *Greece* cannot easily be reckoned) entitle the *Conqueror* to the Honour of a *publick Entry*. This Privilege was confined to a few only, and at first probably to those only which were called *sacred*, namely, the *Olympick*, *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*. The Number of these *Games* (from this Privilege named *Iselastici Agones*, i. e. *Games* entitling the *Conqueror* to a *triumphal Entry*) seems to have been afterwards increased by the Authority of the *Roman Emperors* [5];

[5] See *Pliny's* Epistle to *Trajan*, *De Iselasticis*, with the *Emperor's* Answer.

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who, besides that Privilege, annexed others to them of the same kind with those anciently, and perhaps originally, appropriated by the *Greeks* to the *Four sacred Games*. What these were I shall now proceed to shew.

The most considerable of these was the *Stipend*, or *Salary*, allotted to the *sacred Conquerors* by their respective Cities, which became due, according to the Regulation made by *Trajan*, from the Time of their publick Entry, and was continued to them for the Remainder of their Lives. It appears indeed by *Pliny's* Letter to that Emperor, that the *Conquerors* demanded their Salaries from the Time of their gaining the Victory; and perhaps they founded their Demand upon the ancient Practice of the *Greeks*. What their *Stipends* or *Salaries* amounted to at their first Institution is no where said; but they seem to have increased in proportion as the Fondness, or Madness rather, of the *Grecians* for those *sacred Conquerors* increased, 'till there was Reason to apprehend that they might become burthensome to the Publick, either from their Excesses, or from the Number of those, who were entitled to them. To put a final Stop to this growing Evil, among his own People at least, *Solon* [6], the great Legislator of the *Athenians*, made a Law, by which he limited the annual Allowance of an *Olympick Conqueror* to five hundred *Drachmæ*, or sixteen Pounds two Shillings and eleven Pence [7]; that of an *Isthmian Conqueror* to one hundred *Drachmæ* only, or three Pounds four Shillings and seven

[6] Laert. & Plut. in Solone.

[7] See Arbuth. Tables.

Pence;

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Pence ; and so of the others in proportion ; which by the way shews the great Preference given to the *Olympick Crown*.

In *Sparta* indeed, from whence *Lycurgus* had banished Gold and Silver, there was no pecuniary Reward allotted to these *Conquerors*, nor any publick Allowance of Provisions, as there was in all the other States of *Greece*, and even at *Athens*, 'till it was either changed by *Solon* into Money, or rated by him at the Sums above-mentioned. The Government of *Sparta* was calculated for a military People only, and indeed was properer for a Camp than a City ; the Rewards were of the same kind, rather honourable than lucrative. What that was, which was conferred upon a *sacred Conqueror*, and how highly it was valued by those enthusiastick Lovers of military Glory, will appear by the Answer of a *Spartan* [8], who at the *Olympick Games* having been tempted by the Offer of a large Sum of Money either to decline the Contest, or yield the Victory, refused it ; and being questioned, after he had with much Difficulty subdued his Adversary, what he should gain by that Victory ? answered with a Smile, *I shall have the Honour of being posted before my King in Battle.*

It ought not to be concluded from what has been said, that the *Olympick Olive* was less valued at *Sparta* than at *Athens* or any other of the *Greek Cities*. *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, is by some Authors said to have

[8] Plut. in *Lycurgo*.

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joined with *Iphitus* in restoring the *Olympick Games*; which Account, if true, puts this Matter out of all Question; and if false, could never have gained Credit, had the *Spartans* treated the *Olympick Olive* with Contempt. Add to this, that in the List of *Olympick Conquerors* are to be found the Names of several *Spartans*; and in *Pausanias* an Account of many *Statues* erected at *Olympia* in honour of their Victories; but we may learn what Opinion the *Spartans* in general entertained of the Glory of an *Olympick Victory*, by this Saying of a *Spartan Woman* [9], who, while she was engaged in a publick Procession, hearing that a Victory had been obtained over the Enemies of *Sparta*, and being told at the same Time that her Son was dead of the Wounds he had received in the Battle, instead of pulling the Chaplet from her Head, and shewing any Signs of Grief, gloried in the News, and said to her Companion, *How much more honourable is it for him thus to die in Battle, than to live and gain an Olympick Crown!* as if she had said, An *Olympick Victory* is esteemed the highest Honour, but I think it more glorious for my Son to die in Battle fighting for his Country. And indeed she gave the Preference where it was due.

Another Reward conferred upon the *sacred Conquerors* was, the Honour of the *first Seat* at all publick Spectacles. This Prerogative is mentioned in a Poem written by *Xenophanes*, and quoted by *Athenæus*; in which also, besides an *Allowance of Provisions*, Notice is taken of a

[9] Plut. in Apophth. Lac.

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Present [1] made to them by the Publick, to serve as a *Monument* of their Glory. What these Presents were is not said; it is probable they were different in different Places. In *Cornelius Nepos* [2] we read of *Crowns of Gold* given at *Athens* to the *Olympick Conquerors*: perhaps a *Crown of Gold* was the usual Present of that City, the Value of which was limited by the Law of *Solon* above-mentioned; for that Law may as well be understood to relate to the *Presents* as to the yearly *Allowance* of *Provisions* made to the *sacred Conquerors*: and it is evident from the Words of *Xenophanes*, cited by *Athenæus*, that they were entitled to both.

The last Privilege granted to the *sacred Conquerors*, which was an *Immunity from all Civil Offices*, seems to have been owing to the *Roman Emperors*; who not only preserved to them their ancient Rights, but added others from Time to Time: among these was the *Exemption* just mentioned, of which I can find no Traces among the ancient *Greeks*. Neither was this *Exemption* granted to all the *sacred Conquerors*, but to those only who had gained Three Victories; as appears from the following *Rescript* of the Emperors *Diocletian* and *Maximian*: *Athletis ita demum, si per omnem ætatem certassent, coronis quoque non minus tribus certaminis sacri, in quibus vel semel Romæ, seu antiquæ Græciæ merito coronati, non æmulis corruptis ac redemptis probentur, civilium munerum tribui solet vacatio.* This *Re-*

[1] *Deipn.* L. x. c. 2. καὶ δῶρον, ὃ οἱ κειμήλιον εἶναι.
cibiade,

[2] In *Al-*

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script is as it were the Text, which gave occasion to the long and learned Work of *Petrus Faber*, *Pierre du Faur*, intitled *Agonisticon*; which, as *Monf. Burette* [3] observes (whose Words I have here translated) may well pass for an ample *Comment* upon a Law conceived in so few Words.

These are all the Honours and Privileges, as far as I can find, to which the *sacred Conquerors* were entitled either by the Laws or Customs of their respective Countries. To these indeed were sometimes added *Statues*, or other *Monuments* of Glory, *Inscriptions*, and even *Altars*, upon which Sacrifices were offered to them as to *Heroes* or *Demi-Gods*: of which last three Instances are recorded in History. The first was *Philip* of *Crotona*, an *Olympick* Conqueror, and the most beautifull Man of his 'Time; to whom the *Egeftans* after his Death erected an *heroick Monument*, and offered Sacrifices; though according to *Herodotus* [4], who relates this Story, he seems to have owed these extraordinary Honours rather to his *Beauty* than to his *Olympick Victory*.

The second is *Euthymus* of *Locris*, an *Athlete* famous for his Strength, and for having always come off victorious in the *Cæstus* at *Olympia*, without being ever vanquished. To this Conqueror were erected two *Statues*, one at *Locris*, the other at *Olympia*, which were both struck with Lightning in one and the same Day. To him his Countrymen the *Locrians*, in Obedience to the Commands

[3] 3 Mem. sur les Athletes. [4] Terps. C. 47.

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of an Oracle, offered Sacrifices not only after his Death, but even while he was yet alive : in all which Story, says *Pliny* [5] the *Naturalist*, who relates it, nothing appears to me so wonderfull, as the Gods having vouchsafed to appoint these Sacrifices.

Theagenes of the Island of *Thasus* was the third of these Heroes, or *Demi-Gods* ; of whose Actions and Victories, amounting in all to fourteen hundred, as also of his *Deification*, *Pausanias* [6] recounts many Wonders, with which I shall not trouble the Reader. It is sufficient for my present Purpose to observe from that Author, that he was worshipped after his Death, not by the *Thasians* only, but by many other People as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians* ; who set up Images of him in many Places, and ascribed to them the miraculous Power of healing all Manner of Diseases.

As these Honours were in themselves very extraordinary, so were they very uncommon ; and seem, if well considered, to have arisen rather from some peculiar Circumstance or Incident, which either the Superstition of the People, or the Artifice of those who managed the Oracles, denominated miraculous, than from any Opinion commonly entertained, that divine Honours were really due to the Merit of these admired *Conquerors*. They were indeed all of them treated with great Reverence and Distinction, set above all other Mortals, and almost equalled to the Gods, as *Horace* intimates in these Words :

[5] Lib. i. c. 47.

[6] Lib. vi. c. 11.

*Palmaque nobilis**Terrarum Dominos evehit ad Deos.*

And with these Honours and Rewards, I dare say it will be thought, they had more than sufficient Reason to be contented.

SECTION XVII.

Of the Utility of the Olympick Games.

HAVING in the preceding Sections given the best and fullest Account, that I have been able to collect, of the original Establishment, the Laws, Order, and Oeconomy of the *Olympick Games*, together with the several *Honours, Privileges, and Rewards* conferred upon the *sacred Conquerors* in their respective Countries, I shall in this endeavour to point out some of the principal Emoluments, accruing to the whole *Grecian Name* from this great *Political Institution*; which under the Title and Sanction of a *Religious Festival*, attained to such a Degree of Reverence and Esteem, as enabled it to subsist above a thousand Years; a Duration exceeding that of any of the most famous Empires and Commonwealths of the ancient World. If during this long Term, the *Grecians* do not appear to have availed themselves of all the Advantages offered to them by the Laws and Constitution of the *Olympick Games*, it cannot from hence be concluded, that no such Advantages were either originally included in

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that *Institution*, or could afterwards have been grafted on it: since the *Grecians*, though they seldom wanted a sufficient Number of Lawgivers and Philosophers, whose Sagacity enabled them to discover, as their Virtue prompted them to pursue whatever might conduce to the publick Good, paid but little Deference to the Politicks of those sage Counsellors, and generally kept their Attention fixed upon the particular Views, which the separate Interests of the several little States, into which they were divided, or the Factions, which rent those little States into different Parties, suggested; and by which they were either so blinded as not to see, or so disjointed as never unanimously to concur in following those wise Schemes, which tended to unite them all in one great Body, under one common Name. Such apparently was the Tendency of that Law of the *Olympick Games*, which excluded all who were not *Grecians*, from contending in them; as of that other also, which enjoined a Cessation of Hostilities among all those States of *Greece*, which happened to be at War with each other, under the Penalty of being refused the Liberty of performing their Sacrifices to *Jupiter* at *Olympia*, upon that his solemn *Festival*. Of the Wisdom and Policy of these Laws the *Grecians*, indeed, seem to have been so little sensible, as to have drawn from them scarce any of those great Advantages, which they were calculated to produce; though they eagerly and universally laid hold of some far less important, suggested to them by other Parts of this *Institution*.

These

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These were the *Gymnastick* and *Equestrian Games*; to the *Conquerors* in which the *Olympick Olive* being offered as an honorary Reward, soon kindled among the several States of *Greece* such an Emulation and Ardour to excell in all the various Exercises, of which they consisted, that there was scarce a Town of any Note, either in *Greece* itself, or in the Colonies of *Greek* Extraction settled along the Coasts of *Asia* and *Africa*, in the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Islands, in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and many other Parts of *Europe*, in which there was not a *Gymnasium*, or *School of Exercise* maintained at the publick Expence, with a View of training up their Youth in a Manner that best suited, as they imagined, to make them usefull to their Country. Neither were they withheld from concurring with this Part of the great *Political Institution* of the *Olympick Games* by the partial Considerations above-mentioned, arising from the different and inconsistent Views and Interests of the several States, into which *Greece* was divided; since, though the Citizens of every *Grecian* State were equally admitted to contend, if duely qualified, for the *Olympick Crown*, yet was every State left at Liberty to pursue its own particular Schemes, whether of Ambition or Security, notwithstanding the temporary Obedience which they all agreed to pay to the *Olympick Laws*, during the Celebration of that *Festival*. And therefore, as by training up their Youth in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, the several States of *Greece* perceived they were able to qualify their Citizens for obtaining the *Olympick Olive*, upon which they came by Degrees to set a
great,

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great, and perhaps too great a Value, and render them at the same Time serviceable to the Commonwealth in those Wars, whether offensive or defensive, in which every State, either from its Strength or Weakness, was almost perpetually engaged: it is no Wonder that the *Gymnastick Exercises* were so cultivated and encouraged by the *Grecians*; and came to be esteemed by them as the principal Part of the *Olympick Institution*. In which Light I shall now consider them, and begin those Observations, which I here propose to make, on the *Utility of the Olympick Games*, by shewing what Advantages the *Greeks* in general derived from the *Gymnastick Exercises*. To this purpose I shall present the Reader with a Translation of a *Dialogue* of *Lucian*, in which this Subject is fully treated, under the Character of *Solon* the great *Legislator* of the *Athenians*, and one of the most renowned of the *Grecian Sages*. Who *Anacharsis*, the other *Interlocutor* in this *Dialogue*, was, and for what Purposes he came into *Greece*, will appear from the *Dialogue* itself; which I chuse to give entire, though it contain some Matters not strictly relative to the Point in Question, because those Matters, I am persuaded, will afford the Reader both Entertainment and Instruction, The Scene is laid in *Athens*, in a *Gymnasium*, or *School of Exercise*; an exact Plan and Description of which, from *Vitruvius*, may be seen in *Mercurialis de Arte Gymnastica*, but which is too long to be here inserted. It may be sufficient to observe, that these *Gymnasiums*, or *Schools of Exercise*, were very spacious

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spacious Buildings of a square or oblong Form, surrounded on the Outside with Porticoes, and containing on the Inside a large open Area for the Exercises, encompassed likewise with Porticoes, covered Places for Exercise in bad Weather, Baths, Chambers for Oil, Sand, &c. a *Stadium*, and Groves of Trees, with several Seats and Benches up and down; all contrived for the Pleasure and Convenience of those who frequented them, either on account of exercising themselves, seeing the *Exercises* of others, or hearing the Rhetoricians, Philosophers, and other Men of Learning, who here read their Lectures, held their Disputations, and recited their several Performances whether in Prose or Verse.



Of

Of Gymnastick Exercises.

A DIALOGUE, translated

From the Greek of LUCIAN.

SOLON and ANACHARSIS.

Ana. **T**ELL me, *Solon*, what those young Fellows are about, who are grappled and locked together in that Manner, and endeavouring to trip up one another; and those others, who roll and tumble in the Mud like so many Hogs, and squeeze and throttle each other 'till they are almost strangled. But just now I saw them strip, anoint and rub one another by Turns, very peaceably and like good Friends; when all on a sudden, and without any Offence taken as I could perceive, they fell together by the Ears, threw their Heads in each others Faces, and butted like two Rams; and now one of them, as you see, has lifted his Antagonist off his Legs, dashed him upon the Ground, and falling upon him, will not suffer him to rise; but on the contrary, drives him deeper into the Mud, and twisting his Legs about his Middle, and setting his Elbow in his Throat, seems determined to suffocate him; while the poor Wretch at the same Time strikes him gently on the Shoulder,

begging

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begging Quarter, as I suppose, and beseeching him not to choak him in good earnest. Neither can I observe, that they are in the least shy of dirtying themselves, notwithstanding their being rubbed all over with Oil: and indeed they soon hide it with Mud; by the Help of which, and a pretty deal of Sweat, they become so slippery, that I cannot forbear laughing to see them sliding like Eels out of one anothers Hands. Yonder too are others, doing the same Thing in the open Air, with this Difference, that instead of Mud they are covered over with Sand, which they dig up and cast upon one another, while each seems to receive it very willingly; and indeed, like a Parcel of Cocks and Hens, they spread and throw it carefully all over their Bodies, in order, as I suppose, to prevent their escaping so easily out of each others Embraces; while the Sand, by diminishing and drying up the Lubricity occasioned by the Oil, gives each of them a firmer and better Hold upon his Adversary. And now being sufficiently sanded over, they fall to it with Hand and Foot, without either of them endeavouring to throw down his Antagonist. And one of them seems to be spitting out all his Teeth, with a whole Mouthfull of Sand and Blood, occasioned by a terrible Blow which he has just now received upon the Jaws. Neither does that Magistrate [1] there part them, or put an End to the Battle (for I take him to be some Magistrate or other, by his being cloathed in Purple) on the

[1] The *Gymnasiarch*, or President of the *Gymnasium*.

contrary,

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contrary, he encourages them to proceed, and praises that Fellow who struck the other on the Mouth. In other Places too I see others, who are in the same Manner covered over with Sand, and who spring up as if they were running, and yet they remain upon the same Spot, and then leap up all together, and kick about their Heels in the Air. Now I would fain know to what Purpose they do all this; for to me it appears so like Madness, that no one shall easily convince me, that they who do this are not beside themselves. *Solon.* No Wonder, *Anacharsis*, that these Things appear strange to you, considering they are foreign, and totally different from the Manners of the *Scythians*; who on their part have undoubtedly many Customs, that would in like Manner to a *Grecian* Spectator seem as ridiculous and absurd as these do to you. But satisfy yourself, my Friend, there is nothing of Madness in what you see; neither do those young Fellows strike, tumble in the Mud, and cover one another over with Sand, from a quarrelsome and abusive Spirit. These Things have their Utility and Pleasure, and give, besides, no small Strength and Vigour to our Bodies. And I question not, if you continue any Time in *Greece*, as I suppose you intend to do, but you will shortly make one among those dirty Fellows, that are smeared all over with Mud and Sand; so pleasant and so profitable will the Thing appear to you. *Ana.* Far from it, *Solon*! You may keep your Pleasure and your Profit to yourselves; for if any of you was to put me into

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such a Pickle, he should know that I do not wear a Sword to no Purpose. But tell me, what Name do you give to these Things, or what must we say these Fellows are doing?

Solon. This Place, *Anacharsis*, is by us called a *Gymnasium*, and is dedicated to *Apollo the Lycian*; whose Image you there see leaning upon a Column, and holding his Bow in his Left Hand, while his Right Hand bent up over his Head, seems to denote Weariness and Repose after long Labour and Fatigue. And as for the *Exercises*, that are performed in this Place, that which is practised yonder in the *Mud* is called the *Palé*, or *Wrestling*, as is that also in which those young Fellows in the *Sand* are now engaged; but they whom you see standing upright, and beating and buffeting one another, are named *Pancratiasts*. Besides these *Exercises*, we have many more of the like Nature; as the *Exercises* of the *Cæstus*, of the *Quoit*, and *Leaping*. Of these consist our *Games*, in which whoever comes off *Conqueror*, is deemed the best Man, and obtains the Prize. *Ana.* Pray,

what may those Prizes be? *Solon.* In the *Olympick Games*, a *Crown* made of the Branches of a *Wild Olive*; in the *Isthmian*, of the Branches of the *Pine Tree*; in the *Nemean*, of *Parsley*; in the *Pythian*, of *Laurel* [2]; and

[2] In the Original it is *ποθοὶ δὲ μῆλα τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ Θεῷ*. But as the Learned are not agreed upon the Meaning of *μῆλα* in this and other Passages, and as a Crown of Laurel, in *Pindar* and other Authors, is given to the Conquerors in the *Pythian Games*, I chose to substitute that instead of translating the above-written Words,

with

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with us, in our *Panathenæan Games*, a *Jar of Oil*, made from the *Olive* consecrated to *Minerva*. What do you laugh at, *Anacharsis*? Is it because you think these Prizes trifling and ridiculous? *Ana.* Oh, by no means,

Solon. On the contrary, you have reckoned up a Parcel of magnificent *Prizes*; such as give their Donors good Reason to value themselves upon their Liberality; and such as are extremely worth all the Pains and Labours that People undergo to obtain them. *Solon.* But, my

good Friend, we do not singly regard the Prizes themselves, but consider them as Tokens and Ensigns of the *Victory*; the Glory attending upon which is of the utmost Value to the *Conquerors*. For this, all those who seek for Honour from their Toils, think it glorious to be kicked and cuffed, since without Trouble it is not to be obtained: on the contrary he, who would attain to it, must previously undergo many Hardships and Difficulties, and expect from his Labours only an Event so delightfull and advantageous. *Ana.* What you call advantageous and delightfull, *Solon*, is for these *Conquerors* to be crowned in the

View of all the World, and to be praised for their Victories, who just before were the Objects of Pity and Compassion on account of their Wounds and Bruises: and yet it seems they think themselves happy, if in Return for all their Labours they can get a Branch of *Laurel* or a little *Parsley*. *Solon.* I tell you, *Anacharsis*, you are still ignorant of our Customs: but in a little while you will have another Opinion of them; when you go to our

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great *Festivals*, and see the vast Concourse of People, and Theatres capable of containing many Thousands crouded with Spectators, who all come to view these Contests; when you hear the Praises that are bestowed upon the Combatants, and the *Conqueror* deemed equal to a God.

Ana. That very Thing, *Solon*, is the most miserable Circumstance of all, that they do not suffer these Injuries in the Sight of a few People only, but in the Presence of such a Number of Spectators, so many Witnesses of their Shame; who undoubtedly must esteem them very happy, when they see them streaming with Blood, or almost strangled by their *Antagonists*, for such is the Felicity that attends these Victories. But I must tell you, *Solon*, that amongst us *Scythians*, if any Man strikes another, throws him down, or tears his Garment, he would be grievously fined by the Elders, though the Injury was done in the Presence of but a few Witnesses; and not before such a Multitude of People as, you say, come together at the *Isthmian* and *Olympick Games*. For my part, I cannot help pitying the Combatants for what they undergo, and wondering at the Spectators, who, you tell me, come together from all Parts to these *Festivals*, neglecting their necessary Business, and keeping holiday upon no better a Pretence than this. Neither can I conceive what Pleasure there is, in seeing Fellows beat, wounded, dashed against the Ground, and mangled by one another. *Solon.* If it were now the Season, *Anacharsis*, either of the *Olympick*, the *Isthmian*, or the *Panathenæan Games*, the Sight of
what

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what passes there would instruct you, that it is not without good Reason that we concern ourselves so seriously with these Matters. For it is not in the Power of Language to give you so strong a Relish of the Pleasure arising from these Spectacles, as if, seated there in the middle of the Spectators, you yourself beheld the Courage of the *Combatants*, the Beauty of their Bodies, their surprising Health and Vigour, their admirable Skill, their indefatigable Strength, their Boldness, their Ardour and Emulation, their unconquerable Resolution, and unwearied Application and Solitude to obtain the Victory. I am certain you would never cease praising, and applauding, and clapping. *Ana.* And laughing, and hooting too, *Solon*, I can assure you. For all those fine Things that you just now reckoned up, their Courage, their Vigour, their Beauty, and their Resolution, I see all thrown away for nothing; not to rescue their Country from Danger, their Lands from Pillage, or their Friends and Families from Captivity and Oppression. The braver therefore, and the better these Fellows are, the more ridiculous they to suffer such Things, and endure so much to no Purpose; to disgrace and soil with Sand, and Knobs, and Swellings, the Comeliness and large Proportion of their Bodies, that they may be Masters of a Bit of *Laurel* and *Wild Olive*, for I never can forget those same noble Prizes. But tell me, are these Prizes given to all the *Combatants*? *Solon.* By no means they can fall to the Share of but one amongst them all. *Ana.* They

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take all these Pains then, *Solon*, upon an uncertain and doubtful Prospect of Victory, knowing that there can be but one *Conqueror*, and many conquered; who, poor Wretches, must have nothing for their Labour but Wounds and Bruises. *Solon*. You seem, *Anacharsis*, to have no Idea of a well-constituted Government, or you would not have thus turned into Ridicule some of our best and wisest Customs. But if ever you come to consider how a Commonwealth is to be framed, and how her Citizens are to be ordered for the best, you will then approve of these Exercises, and the Emulation wherewith we endeavour to excell in them; and will understand that there is much Profit mingled with these Labours, though now you think them useless and impertinent. *Ana*. Indeed, *Solon*, for no other Reason did I come from *Scythia* to *Greece*, traversing such a Tract of Country, and passing over the broad and stormy *Euxine*, but to be instructed in the Laws of the *Greeks*; to observe their Manners, and study the best Forms of Government. For the same Reason, among all the *Athenians*, and all other Strangers, have I selected you for a Friend, out of regard to the Reputation I had heard of your having composed a Set of Laws, invented the best Rules of Life, and introduced among your Citizens wholesom Disciplines and Regulations; and framed indeed the whole System of their Commonwealth. Wherefore you cannot have so great an Inclination to instruct and take me for your Disciple, as I shall have Pleasure in sitting by you, even hungry
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and thirsty as I am, and hearing you discourse as long as you can hold out, upon Laws and Government. *Solon.* It is no easy Matter, my Friend, to go through all in a short Time; but you shall be instructed, by Degrees, in some Particulars, concerning the Worship of the Gods, the Duty to our Parents, the Laws of Marriage, &c. And as to what relates to our Youth, and the Manner in which they are ordered, as soon as they begin to understand what is right, are growing towards Men, and can endure Labour and Fatigue, all this will I now explain to you, that you may understand for what Purpose these *Exercises* have been prescribed to them; and wherefore we oblige them to inure themselves to Toil, not with a View to the *Games* only, that they may obtain the *Prizes*, for to them but few out of many can attain, but that they may by these means be enabled to acquire for themselves and their Country a much greater Good. There is a *Contest*, *Anacharfis*, of another kind, and of much more general Concern, in which all good Citizens should be engaged; and a *Crown*, not made up of *Olive*, *Pine*, or *Parsley*, but comprehending the Happiness and Welfare of Mankind; as Liberty, private and publick, Wealth, Honour, the Observation and Enjoyment of the holy Festivals of our Country, and the Safety and Security of our Friends and Kindred; in a Word, all those Blessings that we ask of Heaven. All these Things are interwoven in this *Crown*, and are the Result of the *Contest* I speak of; and to which these Exercises and these Labours are not a

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little conducive.

Ana. Are not you then, *Solon*, a strange Man, when you had such *Prizes* as these, to tell me of *Laurel*, and *Parsley*, and Branches of *Wild Olive*, and *Pine Trees*?

Solon. Neither will these *Prizes*, *Anacharsis*, appear trifling to you, when you have heard what I have to say; since they arise from the same Principle, and are only lesser Parts of that greater Contest, and that *Crown*, that beatifick *Crown* I spoke of. But my Discourse, I know not how, has over-leaped all Method, and led me to mention those Things first, which are transacted in the *Isthmian*, the *Olympick*, and the *Nemean Games*. But however, as we are both at leisure, and you, as you say, are desirous of hearing, we may easily run back to the Beginning, to that great *publick Contest*; for the Sake of which, I maintain, all these Things were originally instituted.

Ana. Better do so, *Solon*; besides the Discourse will run faster off when reduced to Method. And perhaps I may be persuaded in a little Time not to laugh, when I see a Man valuing himself upon his *Olive* or *Parsley Crown*. But if you please, let us go into that shady Place, and sit down upon those *Benches*, that we may not be troubled with the Noise of those who are hollowing to the *Combatants*. Besides, I must confess that I cannot very well bear this hot scorching Sun, darting so directly on my bare Head; for I thought it adviseable to leave my Bonnet behind, that I might not appear to be a Foreigner by my Dress. It is now also the Season of the Year, in which that hottest of Constellations, by you called

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called the *Dog-Star*, sets every Thing on fire, and makes the Air itself dry and parching; especially when the Sun full South, and directly over our Heads, darts upon us his intolerable Beams: wherefore, I am surprized to see that you, who are now in Years, neither sweat with Heat as I do, nor seem at all disturbed at it, nor look about for a shady Place to get under; but on the contrary, with great Ease and Contentment receive the Sun. *Solon.* These unprofitable Toils, *Anacharsis*, these continual *Rollings* in the *Mud*, and these Hardships and Labours that we endure in the open Air and in the *Sand*, serve to arm and fortify us against the Darts of the Sun; and make us want no Bonnet to keep his Beams from our Heads; but let us go. In this Conversation, however, you must not look upon all I say as Law, and so rest satisfied with it; but whenever you shall think me wrong, contradict me and set me right: in which Case I shall not fail of attaining one of these two Things, either thoroughly to convince you, or by your Objections to be myself made sensible of my own Errors. Upon which Occasion the whole City of *Athens* will not fail to acknowledge her Obligations to you, since in instructing me you shall perceive you oblige her; from whom I shall secrete nothing, but throwing all into the publick Stock, will say to the People, Ye Men of *Athens*, I indeed gave you Laws, such as I believed would be most serviceable to the State: but this Stranger here, pointing to you, *Anacharsis*, this *Scythian*, who is a wise Man, hath over-thrown all my Knowledge,

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Knowledge, and hath taught me better Doctrines and better Institutions: wherefore let him be recorded as a Benefactor to your State, and let his Statue in Brasse be erected near the Image of *Minerva*, among those Heroes from whom our *Athenian* Tribes derive their Names. And assure yourself, that the *Athenians* will never be ashamed to learn, even from a Foreigner and a *Scythian*, what shall be expedient for them. *Ana.* This is what I have always heard, that you *Athenians* were much given to Irony. For how should I, a Wanderer, who have always lived in Waggon, perpetually moving from Place to Place, who never dwelt in any City, nor ever saw one till now, how should I be able to discourse upon Government, and teach a People, as old as the Earth they live on, and who for these many Ages have inhabited this most ancient City, under good and wholesome Laws? Much less can I instruct thee, *Solon*, who from the very Beginning, as they say, have applied yourself to that most usefull Science, of knowing how a State may be best administered, and what Laws are fittest to render it flourishing and happy. But however, I will obey your Orders as a Legislator, and contradict you where I shall think you mistaken, that I myself may be more thoroughly informed. But see, we are now got out of the Sun into the Shade, and here, upon these cold Stones, we may sit very pleasantly and with great Conveniency. Now begin your Discourse, and tell me how, even from Childhood, you manage and exercise your Youth, so as out of this

Mus

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Mud and these *Labours* they come forth good and valiant Men; as also how this same Sand, and these *Tumblings* and *Rollings*, can conduce to make them virtuous; for this is what I have all along principally wanted to know. For the other Matters, you shall teach me as Occasion offers. But pray remember, *Solon*, that you are talking to a *Foreigner*; by which I mean, that your Arguments must be neither intricate nor long; for if they run into any length, I am afraid I shall not remember the Beginning. *Solon*. You yourself, *Anacharsis*, will be better able to judge when I become obscure, or wander idly and unprofitably from my Subject; in either of which Cases you have full Liberty to interrupt me, to put in what you please, and to cut me short. But if I shoot neither beyond nor beside the Mark, you will have no Reason to object to the Length of my Discourse. This is the constant Practice of the Court of the *Areopagus*, which takes Cognizance of capital Causes. For when the Judges are sitting on the Hill of *Mars* upon any Trial, relating to Murther, wilfull maiming, or setting fire to an House, the Parties have Leave to plead, and speak by Turns, both the *Plaintiff* and the *Defendant* themselves, or Orators whom they hire to plead for them. And while they speak to the Purpose, the Court suffers and hears them patiently. But if any one pretends to make a long Preamble to his Speech, with a View of inclining the Judges to his Cause; or attempts to raise Compassion or aggravate Matters from any Circumstance foreign to
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the Point in Question (a Practice very frequent among youthfull Orators) the Cryer going to him, silences him forthwith, not suffering him to trifle with the Court, or involve the Cause in Words; that the Judges may have nothing before them but the plain and naked Fact. In like Manner, *Anacharsis*, I constitute you my Judge upon this Occasion; agreeably therefore to the Practice of my own Court, give me a patient hearing, or, if you find me playing the Orator upon you, command me Silence. As long as I keep strictly to my Subject, there will be no harm, if I draw out my Discourse into some Length, for we are not now conversing in the Sun, that you need be uneasy should I be a little tedious. This Shade is thick, and we are entirely at leisure. *Ana.* What you observe, *Solon*, is very right, and I am much obliged to you for your short Digression, by which you have acquainted me with the Practice of the *Areopagus*; a Practice truly admirable, and becoming upright Judges who purpose to give Judgment according to Truth. But now to the other Matters: and since you have constituted me a Judge, I shall in hearing you observe the Method followed by that Court. *Solon.* It is necessary in the first Place for you to hear, in a few Words, what we understand by a City and Citizens. By a City then we do not mean the Buildings, the Walls, the Temples, and the Harbours; all these we look upon as a kind of Body, stable and immoveable, fitted for the Reception of the Inhabitants, in whom, as the animating Soul, we place the

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the whole Power and Authority of fulfilling, ordering, commanding, and preserving every Thing. Upon this Persuasion we take care, as you see, of the Body of the City, to render it within as beautiful as may be, by adorning it with Buildings; and to secure it, as much as possible, from without by Walls and Ramparts. But our first and principal Concern is how to make our Citizens virtuous in Mind and strong in Body; for such Men are most likely to live decently and orderly together in Time of Peace, and in War to guard the City, and preserve it free and happy. The Care of them in their Infancy is left to their Mothers, their Nurses and Tutors; with Directions to bring them up and instruct them in all the Parts of a liberal and ingenuous Education. But as soon as they come to understand what is right and commendable, when a Sense of Shame, Bashfulness, Diffidence, and a Love of Virtue, begins to spring in their Minds; and when their Bodies are become sufficient to endure Toil and Labour, their Joints and Members compact, and more firmly knit together, they are then taken and instructed as to their Minds in other Branches of Learning, and taught in another Manner to accustom their Bodies to Hardships and Fatigues. For we are by no means of Opinion, that it is sufficient for us to be, either in Mind or Body, those Things only that Nature made us. Either Part of us stands in need of Discipline and Instruction, by means of which the Good that is in us may be rendered much better, and the Bad amended and redressed. An

Example

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Example of our Proceeding may be taken from the constant Practice of Gardeners, who, while the Plants are low and tender, cover and fence them round, to keep them from being injured by the Winds; but when their Stems grow large and strong, they prune away their Superfluities, and expose them to be shaken and agitated by the Winds, in order to render them the more fruitfull. To rouse and exercise their Minds we begin with teaching them *Musick* and *Arithmetick*, to form their Letters in Writing, and in Reading to pronounce them clearly and exactly. As they advance, we rehearse to them the Sayings of wise Men, the Actions of former Times, and other usefull Lessons, dressed out in Metre, that they may the better retain them in their Memories. By this means hearing perpetually of brave and virtuous Actions, they are incited by Degrees, and provoked to a Desire of imitating them, that their Names in like Manner may be sung and admired by Posterity. In which kind of Poetry we have many Pieces written by *Hesiod* and *Homer*. When they now draw towards an Age fit to be admitted into publick Offices, and it becomes expedient for them to think of concerning themselves with the Affairs of Government—But these Matters perhaps are foreign to my Purpose, which was to explain the Intention of the Bodily Exercises, in which we think proper to employ them, and not those of the Mind; wherefore I impose Silence upon myself, without waiting for the *Cryer*, or the Orders of you my *Judge*; who out of Civility and Respect, as I suppose,

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suppose, suffer me to go on prating thus idly about Matters nothing to the Purpose. *Ana.* Tell me, *Solon*,

hath the Court of the *Areopagus* found out no proper Punishment for those who pass over in Silence such Things that are most necessary to be known? *Solon.* I cannot

guess why you ask me that Question. *Ana.* Because, omitting to acquaint me with the particulars relating to the Mind, which I esteem the most excellent and the best worth hearing, you are going to relate Matters of much less Importance, Bodily Toils, and *Gymnastick Exercises*.

Solon. Calling to mind, *Anacharsis*, what was said at the Beginning of this Conversation, I was not willing to wander from my Subject, lest by saying too much I should perplex your Memory; but, if you think proper, I will run over these Matters in as few Words as possible; leaving a more exact Disquisition of them to another Opportunity. In order therefore to give their Minds a proper Tone and Harmony, we instruct them in our Laws; which being written in a large and fair Character, are publickly exposed to the Perusal of every one, who from their Ordinances may learn what is to be done, and what to be avoided. We then introduce them into the Societies of good and worthy Men (such as we call *Sophists* and *Philosophers*) from whose Conversation they learn to speak pertinently and properly, to act fairly and justly, to live together like Fellow-Citizens, to attempt no misbecoming Action, to pursue what is commendable, and to refrain from all kinds of Violence. Besides all this, we

carry them for their Instruction into the *publick Theatres*, where in the Fables, both of *Tragedies* and *Comedies*, are set before them the Virtues and Vices of former Times; that they may avoid the one and emulate the other. To our *Comick Writers* we allow the Liberty of ridiculing and abusing such Citizens, as they know to be guilty of any base or unworthy Action. And this we do as well for their own Sakes, who by such kind of Reprimands may be made better, as for the many, who may be warned by their means to avoid the Censure due to the like Offences. *Ana.* I have seen those same *Tragedians* and *Comedians*, as you call them, *Solon*, those Fellows with heavy, high-heel'd *Buskins*, and Robes all over laced with Gold; who wore most ridiculous *Vizors*, with monstrous gaping Mouths, within which they make a most horrid Bellowing, and strut about in those odd kind of Shoes, I can't imagine how, without falling: this, if I mistake not, was at the Time, when you celebrated the *Festival of Bacchus*. Your *Comedians* were shorter, not mounted up so high, and more like men; neither did they roar so loud: but their *Vizors* were more ridiculous, and set the whole Theatre a laughing. Whereas when those other tall Fellows appeared, the Audience listened to them with most dismal Faces, pitying them, as I suppose, for dragging after them those monstrous Shackles. *Solon.* It was not the Actors, good *Anacharsis*, whom they commiserated; the Poet in all likelihood had set before them some old melancholy Story, and put into the Mouths of

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his *Tragedians* some dolefull Speeches, by which all the Audience was moved to Tears. You observed, perhaps at the same Time, some People playing upon Flutes, and others standing in a Circle, and Singing; which Musick and Songs, *Anacharsis*, are by no means useles; for all these Things tend equally to whet and animate the Minds of our young Men, and make them better. As to our Manner of exercising their Bodies; which you seemed desirous of knowing, it is this: As soon as their Bodies are become a little compact and firm, we strip them naked, and accustom them in the first place to the open Air, familiarizing them with all Seasons, that they may neither grow uneasy or impatient with Heat, nor shrink and yield to the Extremity of Cold: After this we anoint and mollify them with *Oil*, to render them more supple; it being, in our Opinions, ridiculous to imagine that our Bodies, while they yet partake of Life, should receive no Benefit from the Oil, when Leather, that is nothing but a dead Hide, by being rubbed and softened with it, becomes more tough and durable. On the other hand, contriving various kinds of *Exercises*, and appointing Masters in each of them, we cause our young Men to learn, some of them the Exercise of the *Castus*, others that of the *Pancratium*, that they may be accustomed to endure Pain and Toil; to brave a Blow, and not turn their Backs for fear of being wounded: whence there arise two very considerable Advantages, for in the first place our Youth by these means become more intrepid and bold in Danger,

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and less carefull of their Persons ; and are in the next place rendered more healthy and vigorous. Those, who are instructed in the Exercise of *Wrestling*, learn from thence to fall without any Hurt, to rise nimbly, to push and grapple with their Adversaries, to twist and turn them, to squeeze them 'till they are almost strangled, and lift them from the Ground. Qualities, that without doubt have their Uses ; the chief of which is, that their Bodies thus kept in continual Exercise become more robust and less liable to be injured. The second Advantage, and that no inconsiderable one, is, that being perfect and expert in these Matters, they will not be at a Loss, should they ever have Occasion to make use of them in War. For it is evident that such a Man, if he be grappled with his Enemy, will by his Skill in tripping more readily throw him down ; or if he be fallen himself, will know how to rise again with great Ease and Celerity. For all these Exercises, *Anacharsis*, are established with a final View to that *Contest*, which is decided by the Sword ; since through their means we flatter ourselves that we shall be supplied with better Soldiers, especially as by softening their naked Bodies, and inuring them to Labour, we not only make them healthier and stronger, but lighter also, and more lithe to themselves, though heavier at the same Time and more unwieldy to their *Antagonists*. You guess by this Time, I don't question, what Sort of Fellows they are like to prove in Arms, who even naked are wont to strike a Terror into their Enemies ;

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Enemies; whose Bodies are neither overloaded with Flesh, pallid and unactive, nor meagre, white, and livid, like those of Women, almost putrified by being kept always from the Air, shivering, apt with the least Motion to run down with Sweat, and panting beneath the Burthen of an Helmet, especially if the Sun shine hot, as he does at present, from the South. Fine Soldiers these for Service, who can neither endure Drought nor Dust; whom the Sight of Blood throws into Disorder; and who die away with Fear before they come within the Reach of a Spear, or feel the Sword of the Enemy! whereas our tawny, Sun-burnt, hard-favoured Youth, that seem full of Spirit, vital Heat, and manly Vigour, have their Bodies in such proper Order, as on the one hand to be neither dry nor shrivelled, nor too stuffed or heavy on the other; but keeping them within due Limits they waste away, by sweating, all superfluous and uselefs Flesh, and strenuously preserve, without the Mixture of any Unsoundness, whatever conduces to render them strong and active. For these Exercises operate upon our Bodies like a Winnowing-Fan upon Corn; blowing away the Chaff and Straw, and separating, cleaning, and heaping up the Grain; the Consequence of which is, that they become healthy, and able to go through a great deal of Labour and Fatigue. Besides, that such a one is a long Time e'er he begin to sweat, and is seldom or never faint. For, to return once more to our Comparison of the Corn, let any one take Fire and cast it into the Grain, and into

the Chaff and Straw, I dare say the latter would take fire much the soonest; while the former would kindle by Degrees, neither producing any great Flame nor blazing up at once, but burning slowly and at Bottom, would be a considerable Time before it was all consumed: such a Constitution of Body, in like Manner attacked by any Toil or Sickneſs, would not be ſoon affected by it, or eaſily ſubdued: the inward Parts being all ſound and in good Condition, and the outward ſo well fortified againſt all Attacks of that kind, as not eaſily to receive any Injury from the Affaults either of Cold or of the Sun himſelf. And as to their enduring Fatigue, a conſtant Stream of inward Warmth, collected as it were long before, and kept in Reſerve againſt a neceſſary Occaſion, furniſhes them with a plentiful Supply of Spirit and Vigour, and renders them almoſt indefatigable: for their having previously inured themſelves to Toil and Labour, increaſes inſtead of diminishing their Strength; which by being agitated, conſtantly grows the faſter. Beſides all this, we exerciſe our Youth in *Running*, accuſtoming them not only to hold out through a long Courſe, but to perform it with the utmoſt Expedition; for which Purpoſe we endeavour to make them light and nimble. Neither are theſe *Races* performed upon hard or ſolid Ground, but in a deep Sand, which ſliding away and yielding perpetually to the Tread, allows them no ſure Footing, either to riſe upon their Feet or to ſet them down firmly. They are exerciſed alſo in *leaping* over a Trench perhaps, or whatever

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happens to be in their Way ; in performing of which, they fill their Hands with great Pieces of *Lead*: after this they contend with each other in *Darting*, and trying who shall cast his Spear the farthest. You saw lying in the *Gymnasium* a Lump of Brass, circular and not unlike a small Shield, but without a Handle or Thong. You tried to take it up, and found it very weighty, and difficult to be laid hold of by reason of its Smoothness ; this they toss into the Air, and try who shall throw it to the greatest Distance, and surpass the rest of his *Competitors* ; and this Exercise not only strengthens the Shoulders, but gives a Spring and Vigour even to the extreme Parts. Now as to the *Mud* and *Sand*, which at first appeared to you so mighty ridiculous, you shall hear, *Anacharsis*, wherefore they are spread in the Place of Exercise. The first Reason is, that the *Competitors* may fall soft and without Danger ; who might hurt themselves by falling upon hard Ground. The next is, to promote that Slipperiness occasioned by a Mixture of *Mud* and Sweat, which made you liken them to Eels, and which is neither useless nor ridiculous, but exceedingly conducive, on the contrary, to render them strong and vigorous. For under these Circumstances they are necessitated to take a fast and firm Hold of one another, to prevent their slipping away ; and you must by no means think it an easy Matter to lift from the Ground a Man who is all over Oil, and Mud, and Sweat, by the Help of which he is constantly endeavouring to fall and glide away from

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your Embraces. All these Things, as I said before, are of use in War; whether it be necessary to take up speedily and bear out of the Battle a wounded Friend, or seize upon an Enemy and carry him off in your Arms: for this Reason the Exercises we propose to them, are always carried to an Excess; that, having been accustomed to harder Things, they may perform easier Matters with less Difficulty. The *Sand* we make use of for a quite different Purpose, namely, to take away the Slipperiness occasioned by the *Oil*; for as in the *Mud* they are practised to hold fast an Adversary, assisted by the Lubricity of his Body to escape; in the *Sand* they learn to get away, even when they are so strongly and so firmly held, that one would think it almost impossible to break loose. We receive also this farther Benefit from the *Sand*; for being thrown over our Bodies when they are in a Sweat, it not only prevents immoderate Perspiration, and by that means enables us to hold out the longer, but keeps us also from being injured by the Winds blowing upon us while our Pores are open; besides, it carries away with it all kind of Filth, and renders the Body more sleek and shining. And indeed I should be glad to set before you one of your white-skin'd Fellows, that has always lived under Cover, and any one of these, who have been bred here in the *Gymnasium*, washing off his *Mud* and *Sand*, and ask you which of the two you would wish to resemble. I am confident you would chuse at first Sight, without making any Experiment of the Deeds of either; you would

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would chuse, I say, without a Moment's Hesitation, that compact and well-ordered Frame of Body, rather than that other delicate Complexion, softened and melting almost with Luxury and Cockering, and looking white, as well from the Scarcity of Blood, as from its retiring all to the inward Parts.

These, *Anacharxis*, are the Exercises in which we educate our Youth, and by the means of which we hope to make them strenuous Defenders of their Country; under whose Protection we ourselves may live in Liberty, get the better of our Enemies if they attack us, and become so formidable to our Neighbours round, that they may all stand in awe of us, and the greatest Part of them pay us Tribute. In Peace too we doubt not but to find them the better for our Instructions; neither inclined to emulate one another in base and shamefull Actions, nor through the Want of Employment turning themselves to Riot and Debauch: these Exercises affording them continual Occupation, and filling up all the Vacancies both of their Thoughts and Time. And in this, *Anacharxis*, consists the publick Good and Happiness of a State, to have its Youth perpetually busying themselves in usefull and commendable Employments, so as to be equally fitted and prepared either for Peace or War. *Ana.* Therefore, *Solon*, when your Enemies come to attack you, smearing yourselves over with *Oil* and *Sand*, you march forth in that Manner to assault them with your Fists; and most certainly they have great Reason to be

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afraid

afraid and run away, lest, as they stand gaping, you may chance to fill their Mouths with *Sand*, or jumping round them you may get upon their Backs, and then twisting your Legs about their Bellies, choke them with placing your Elbows upon their Throats underneath their Helmets. And supposing they should, as they will undoubtedly, attack you with their Bows and Spears, those Weapons can have no more Effect upon you, than upon so many Statues, because of your being so burnt and hardened in the Sun, and so abounding with Blood. For being neither Chaff nor Straw, you will not be soon susceptible of a Wound; and if you should, after a considerable Time and with much Difficulty, be wounded, it must be a deep and grievous Gash indeed, that draws a little, and but a little Blood upon you. This, I think, is what you say, unless I entirely mistake your Argument. Or perhaps upon such an Occasion, you will arm yourselves with all the Equipage of your *Tragedians* and *Comedians*; and, if you go forth to Battle, put on their grinning *Head-Pieces*, to make yourselves terrible to your Enemies, and scare them with your frightfull Faces. And pray don't forget those same high-heeled *Buskins*, which will prove very light for you, should you have Occasion to run away. Or if you are in Pursuit of the Enemy, it will be impossible for them to escape you, coming after them with such mighty Strides. Consider then, *Solon*, whether all these pretty Things be not trifling Amusements, fit only for such young Fellows as love Idleness, and have nothing better

to

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to do. To be really free and happy, you stand in need of other kinds of Schools, and of the only true Exercise, that of Arms. Neither must this Contest be carried on in Sport with one another, but with an Enemy, where Danger may teach you Courage. Wherefore laying aside your *Oil* and *Sand*, instruct your young Men in the Management of their Bows and Javelins: not putting into their Hands such light Darts, as are to be carried away with every Puff of Wind; but a weighty Spear, that whizzes as it flies, or a Stone that is as much as they can lift; and a Sword, a Target on their left Arms, a Breastplate, and a Helmet. As you now are, your Safety seems to me owing to the Favour of some God, who has saved you hitherto from perishing by the Attack of a few light-armed Soldiers. Should I now draw the little Sword that I carry here at my Girdle, and singly fall upon all your young Fellows there, I leave you to guess whether I could not make myself Master of the *Gymnasium*, merely by shouting, while they would all scamper away, not one of them daring to look upon a naked Sword; and I in the mean Time should die with laughing, to see them creeping round the Statues, hiding behind the Pillars, weeping and trembling. Their Bodies would not then appear so ruddy as you see them at present, but turn pale, and take a Tincture from their Fear. Such are the Effects of your profound Peace, that you cannot stand the Sight even of the Plume of an hostile Helmet. *Solon.* The *Thracians*, *Anacharsis*, who headed
by

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by *Eumolpus* made War upon us, and those *Amazonian* Horse of yours, who under the Conduct of *Hippolita* attacked our City, and all those other People who have tried us in the Field, never spoke of us in this Manner: neither, my good Friend, ought you to have imagined that we go out unarmed to Battle, because our Youth perform their Exercises naked, in which as soon as they are perfect we teach them the Management of their Arms; and they handle them, I can assure you, not a whit the worse for having learnt the other. *Ana.* And where, I pray you, is the School in which you teach the Exercise of Arms? for I have seen nothing like it in the City, though I have been all over it. *Solon.* But if you continue among us for any Time, *Anacharsis*, you will find that every Man is well furnished with Arms, which we make use of when there is Occasion, as well Helmets as Caparisons and Horses, and Horsemen too; almost one fourth Part of the Citizens consisting of Horsemen. Though we think it needless in Time of Peace always to carry Arms and wear a Sword. On the contrary, whoever is discovered with Arms, either in the City or in the Assemblies of the People, is liable to be fined. You *Scythians* indeed are to be excused for going always armed, considering that you not only dwell in an open Country, in which you are perpetually exposed to sudden Invasions and Surprizes, but are constantly at War with one another. An Enemy, before you are aware, may fall upon you in your Sleep, drag you out of your Wag-

gons,

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gons, and cut your Throats. Thus your mutual Distrust of one another, and your not living together under any certain Laws or Government, makes it necessary for you always to carry Arms, that they may always be in a Readiness to defend you in case of an Attack. *Ana.* You

deem it therefore, *Solon*, quite needless to wear a Sword when there is no Occasion, and are for saving your Arms lest they should be spoiled by handling; for which Reason you lay them up carefully 'till you want to use them: and yet, without being compelled to it by any urgent Reason, you exercise and batter the Bodies of your young Men, exhaust them with continual Sweatings, and prodigally pour into the *Dirt* and *Sand* that Strength, which you ought to husband and reserve against a necessary Occasion. *Solon.* You seem, *Anacharsis*, to consider Bodily

Strength in the same Light as you do Wine, or Water, or any other Liquid; and to be afraid, lest in the Agitation of these Exercises, it should leak out of the Vessel imperceptibly, and leave us nothing but a hollow, dry, and empty Body. But the Case is quite otherwise: the more you draw it off in Exercises, the faster it flows in; according to the Fable of the *Hydra* (if you have ever heard it) who in the room of one Head that had been cut off, had always two others immediately sprouting up. A Body indeed never inured by Labour, nor braced by Exercise, and that has not a sufficient Strength of Constitution, would quickly be impaired and destroyed by Toil. Between which and the former there is the same

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Difference as between a Fire and a Lamp ; the former is kindled and increased, and set into a Blaze, by the same Blast of Wind by which the latter, for want of being sustained by a due Supply of Fuel, is soon extinguished.

Ana. I do not rightly understand you, *Solon* ; your Arguments are too subtle, and require a more accurate Attention, and a sharper Penetration than I am Master of. But this I would fain know, what is the Reason that in the *Olympick, Isthmian, Pythian*, and your other *Games*, at which, you tell me, there is always a great Concourse of People to see the Youth perform their *Exercises*, you never have a Combat of armed Men ; but bring them there naked, for the Spectators to see them kicked and cuffed about, and then to the Conqueror you give a Branch of *Laurel* or *Wild Olive*. The Reason why you do this is certainly worth knowing. *Solon.* We imagine, *Anacharsis*, that they will apply themselves with more Eagerness to their *Gymnastick Exercises*, if they see those who excell in them honoured upon these Occasions, and proclaimed *Conquerors* in the Presence of all *Greece*. For the same Reason, as they appear there naked, they take care that they may not be disgraced, to have their Bodies in good Order, and to render themselves in all Respects worthy of the *Victory* : neither are the Prizes, as I said before, mean and trifling : To be applauded by all the Spectators, to be distinguished and pointed out, as a Man that has proved himself the best among all the Youth his Rivals, is surely no inconsiderable Reward. Hence also
many

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many of the Spectators, who are of an Age proper for these *Exercises*, and whose Hearts are not a little animated with these Things, return home enamoured of Toil and Virtue. And indeed, *Anacharsis*, if you take out of human Life the Love of Glory, what Virtue can a Man expect to find, or who will be fond of performing any splendid Action? And now you may be able to form some Judgment to yourself, what sort of Men they are like to prove in Arms, and fighting for their Country, their Wives, their Children, and their Gods, who for the Sake of an *Olive* or a *Laurel Crown* contend even naked with so much Eagerness for the Victory. What would you say, if you beheld the Battles of our *Quails*, and our Fighting *Cocks*, and the no small Earnestness with which we attend to them. You would laugh most assuredly, especially when you were informed, that we do this in Obedience to a Law, by which all our Youth are ordered to be present, and to view these little Birds maintaining the Battle to their latest Gasp. Neither is it ridiculous, considering that in the mean while there steals imperceptibly into our Hearts a certain Promptitude to face Danger, that we may not shew ourselves less generous and less intrepid than Cocks, and yield the Victory through an Inability to bear Wounds, and Toil, and Hardships. But far be it from us to make Trial of our Youth in Arms, and see them wounding one another! for, besides that it is barbarous and savage, it would be very ill Husbandry indeed to massacre thus in Sport our
best

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best Men, whose Valour might better be employed against an Enemy. But since you tell me, *Anacharxis*, that you intend to travel over all *Greece*, remember when you come to *Lacedæmon*, not to laugh at the *Spartans*, nor conclude that they are labouring in vain, when you behold them in the Theatre fighting and banging one another for a *Ball*, or in a Place encompassed on all Sides with Water, dividing themselves into two Battalions and attacking each other naked, 'till either the *Troops of Hercules* or those of *Lycurgus* (for so those two Battalions are called) drive the other out of the Inclosure, or force them into the Water. After which there is Peace between them, and no Man strikes a Blow. But more particularly have a Care of laughing, when you see the Children whipt at the Altar, and streaming down with Blood, their Fathers and their Mothers being present all the while, and, instead of grieving at such a Sight, urging their Children with Threats to bear the Lashes, beseeching them to hold out as long as possible against the Pain, and endure their Miseries with Courage. And indeed many have died under the 'Trial, disdaining to give out in the Presence of their Relations while they had any Life left, and to shew any Weakness for their Bodies. And in Honour of these have the *Spartans* erected Statues at the publick Charge. Wherefore, when you see all this, conclude not that they are mad, nor say that without any Necessity they torment themselves, not compelled to it either by a tyrannical Master or an Enemy. *Lycurgus*, their Legislator, could

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could without doubt have given many good Reasons, why he chose to afflict them in this Manner, having no Intentions, either as an Enemy or out of Ill-will, to waste and consume their Youth. His Design on the contrary was to render those, upon whom was to depend the Safety of their Country, as hardy and brave as possible, and superior to all kinds of Evil. And certainly you yourself may well imagine, without being told it by *Lycurgus*, that such a *Spartan*, if he should happen to be taken by the Enemy in War, would never, for the Apprehension of the Lash, divulge the Secrets of his Country; but smiling would endure the Torture, and strive with the Executioner which should be first tired. *Ana.* Pray, *Solon*, was *Lycurgus* himself scourged in his younger Days, or did he produce these pretty youthfull Inventions of his at an Age, that excluded him from undergoing them himself? *Solon.* He framed his Laws in his old Age, after his Return from *Crete*, where he had resided for a considerable Time, having heard that the *Cretans* were governed by excellent Laws, given them by *Minos* the Son of *Jupiter*. *Ana.* Why then, *Solon*, do not you follow the Example of *Lycurgus*, and scourge your Youth? for these are wholesome Things, and worthy your Imitation. *Solon.* Because, *Anacharsis*, the Exercises we have, are sufficient for our Purpose, and of our own Growth; and we do not think fit to borrow from Strangers. *Ana.* That is not the Reason; the Truth is, you are sensible what it is to be scourged naked, with
your

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your Hands raised up above your Head, and that without any Benefit accruing from it, either to yourself or your Country. Wherefore if I should happen to be at *Sparta*, at the Time of their performing these Disciplines, the People, I doubt, will immediately knock me on the Head for laughing at those Fools, who suffer themselves to be whipt like a Parcel of Knaves and Thieves. And to say Truth, a Government that can allow of such ridiculous Things, stands in need of a good Dose of *Hellebore*.

Solon. Think not, however, my good Friend, because you plead without an Adversary, of prevailing against them in their Absence, and condemning them unheard. You will find Men in *Sparta* able to reply to your Objections, and give you a reasonable Account of their Proceedings. But since I have gone through, at your Request, many of our Customs, which however you seem not entirely to approve, it cannot sure be thought unreasonable, if I desire you, in return, to explain to me the Manner, in which you *Scythians* exercise your Youth; what Schools you have for their Education, and how you make them good and valiant Men.

Ana. Your Request, *Solon*, is very reasonable: you shall have an Account of our *Scythian* Customs, plain and simple ones perhaps, and very much differing from yours; for we do not so much as strike a Man a Blow upon the Face, such Cowards are we. But be they as they will, you shall hear them. If you please, however, we will adjourn our Conversation 'till To-morrow, that I may not only think at

leisure

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leisure upon what you have said, but muster up in my own Mind all I have to say to you. For the present let us finish here, for it grows toward Evening.

FROM what is set forth under the Character of *Solon* in the preceding Dialogue, the Reader may perceive with what View the Founders of the *Olympick Games* proposed their *Olive Chaplet* as a Reward to those, who excelled in any of the *Gymnastick Exercises*. How well they were seconded by the Legislators and Governors of the several States of *Greece*, may be collected from the great Honours, Privileges, and Immunities bestowed on the *sacred Conquerors* in their respective Countries; all which demonstrate the high Opinion entertained by all the *Grecians* of the Utility of the *Gymnastick Exercises*. Of this *Plato* himself was so sensible, that he delivers it as his Opinion, that every well-constituted Republick ought, by offering *Prizes* to the *Conquerors*, to encourage all such Exercises as tend to increase the *Strength* and *Agility* of the Body, as highly usefull in War. That such was the general Tendency of the *Gymnastick Exercises* will easily be admitted; and that the two Qualities just mentioned were very proper to be cultivated in a Soldier, will, I believe, as easily be allowed by those, who consider the Manner of Fighting practised among the *Grecians*. Their Armies for many Ages consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of Infantry; Cavalry, either from the great Scarcity of

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Horfes, or from their Ignorance in managing them, having been late introduced among them, as I have before observed. Their Arms were Swords and Spears, Bows and Slings being not of general Use. Hence in all their Battles the two Armies came always to a close Engagement, in which Strength and Agility of Body could not but be greatly serviceable to every Soldier in particular, and to the whole Army in general, as well for Offence and Defence, as for other Purposes; such as seizing on an Enemy, or bearing off a wounded Friend, expressly taken Notice of in the Dialogue of *Lucian*. This whole Matter is set in its proper Light by *Plutarch*, in his *Symposiacks* [1], or *Table Talk*; where, in Answer to the Question, Which was the most ancient of the *Gymnastick Exercises*? started by some of the Company, he observes, that as they were all originally copied from what was practised in War, and intended to prepare and fit Men for it, it is to be concluded that *Boxing* was the first, *Wrestling* the second, and *Running* the last: since in a Battle the first Business of a Soldier is to *strike* and *ward*; the next, when the Armies come to a closer Engagement, and fight Hand to Hand, is to *push* and *throw down* the Enemy; the last to *pursue* or *fly*. And he tells us at the same time, that the *Thebans* were said to have been indebted to their superior Skill and Practice in the Art of *Wrestling*, for the famous Victory obtained by them over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*. An Exercise in which, as we learn from an-

[1] Lib. ii. Quæst. 5.

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other Passage in the same Author [2], *Epaminondas*, as soon as he conceived the generous Design of freeing his Country from the Tyranny of *Sparta*, took care to have his Fellow-Citizens well instructed, frequently matching them with *Spartans*, and taking occasion from their Victories in the *Gymnasium*, to encourage them not to dread those Adversaries in the Field, whom they had found to be so much inferior to them in Strength.

The *Greeks*, as I have said, were distributed into several petty independent States, whose Strength and Security depended wholly upon the Number of Men, which, upon Occasion, they were able to bring into the Field. The principal Object therefore of every Government, was to make that Number as large as possible. To this End, as no one was exempted from serving his Country in War, every Man of free Condition (for Slaves were not admitted into their Armies unless on very extraordinary Emergencies) from the highest to the lowest, was from his Youth trained up in such a Manner, as by them was judged most conducive to that Purpose; that is, in learning and practising the *Gymnastick Exercises*: by which, though they were not directly instructed in the Management of their Arms, yet they were inured to Toil, and rendered hardy, healthy, vigorous, and active: Qualities, which however little regarded among us at present, were by the wisest Men among the *Grecians* esteemed absolutely necessary in a Soldier. And indeed this Attention to the

[2] In *Pelopida*,

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rendering the Bodies of their Citizens healthy and robust was by some of them carried even to a vicious Excess; so far as to lead them to neglect or overlook some other Matters, of at least equal, if not superior Importance to a well-constituted Government: Instances of which might easily be produced from the famous *Institutions of Lycurgus*, and even from the no less famous *Commonwealth of Plato*: in both which many Absurdities, Indecencies, and Immoralities, even of a very heinous Nature, were allowed of, merely for the sake of furnishing the State with a Race of strong and healthy Citizens,

But in pursuing this Point of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, esteemed so beneficial to the Publick, and for that Reason so cultivated and encouraged in all the *Great Games of Greece*, as well as in those celebrated in every State and City, the *Grecians* at length fell into an Error, into which many States and Communities, as well as private People, both before and since have fallen, even in Matters of more serious Concernment. They came to mistake the *Means* for the *End*. For by over-rating the *Victories* obtained in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and rewarding the *Conquerors* with greater Honours than were in Reason due to them, they in Time caused those *Victories* to be considered, by the Multitude at least, as the final Objects of their Ambition. Whence it came to pass, that Numbers among them, instead of being made good *Soldiers*, became only eminent *Athletes*; and that Course of Education, which was set on Foot with a View of making every

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every Man usefull to his Country, tended to render many not only useles on those Occasions, in which the Exigencies of the Commonwealth might require the Assistance of all its Members, but even burthensome to the Publick : every City being, if not by Law, at least by a Custom grown in length of Time equivalent to a Law, obliged to maintain the *Gymnastick Conquerors* for the rest of their Lives. But this was not the only, nor the heaviest Inconvenience that arose from the too great Encouragement given to the *Athletes* : by which Term I understand those who followed and practised the *Gymnastick Exercises* as a *Science* and *Profession* : An Abuse which began in *Greece* a little before the Times of *Plato*, as we learn from *Galen* [3], who every where inveighs most bitterly against it : infomuch that he will not allow the *Athletick* [4] Art a Place among those which are styled *liberal*, and even refuses it the honourable Title of *Gymnastick* ; a Title in which some People affected to dress it out. The Reasons of the Indignation, which this learned Physician expresses against the *Athletes*, are principally founded on the pernicious Effects of the Regimen observed by them, many of which he enumerates ; and concludes all with saying, that Mankind ought to hate and detest a *Profession*, the Excellency of which consists only in disordering the natural Constitution of the Body, and ruining that kind of Strength and Vigour, which quali-

[3] Ad Thrasylbul. c. 33.
sur les Athletes.

[4] See Monf. Burette's 1 Mem.

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fies a Man to be usefull to his Country, by introducing one of another kind, which can only tend to make him a Burthen to it. He adds, that upon many Occasions he had found himself a great deal stronger than some *Athletes* of Eminence, who had gained *several* Prizes: this sort of Men, continues he, not being fit to undergo either the Fatigues of Travelling or those of War, and still less proper for civil Employments or the Toils of Agriculture: in short, neither good for Counsel nor Execution.

Euripides in one of his *Satyrical Pieces*, a Fragment of which is preserved by *Athenæus* [5], speaks of the *Athletes* with the same Virulence and Contempt: and *Plutarch* compares them to the Pillars of a *Gymnasium*, as well for the Qualities of their Minds, as for those of their Bodies; and in one Place [6] he confesses, that nothing had so much contributed to the Effeminacy and Servility of the *Greeks* as this Abuse of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, which had rendered them unfit for military Duty, and had caused them to prefer the Qualities of an excellent *Athlete* to those of a good Soldier.

But I must here repeat what I hinted at in another Place, on occasion of a Passage there cited from the same Author, in his Life of *Philopæmen*, that this heavy Charge against the *Athletes* falls with the greatest Weight upon those, who exercised themselves in the *Cæstus* and *Pancrætium*, their *Regimen* being the most liable to all the per-

[5] Deip. L. x. c. 2.

[6] De Sanit. tuenda.

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nicious Consequences enumerated by *Galen*, and the most opposite to that of a Soldier.

But without taking into the Account all the Inconveniences just now insisted on, in many of which the *Athletes* were joint Sufferers with the State, it was certainly a considerable Prejudice to the Publick, to have any Number of Men called off from their own Occupations and Affairs, from all Duties Civil and Military, from Commerce and Agriculture, not to mention the Study of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, to the Practice of a *Profession*, in which, to arrive at any Perfection, they must consume their Youth, their Health, and Fortune, and become chargeable to their Friends and Country (over which, says *Laertius* [7], they seem by their Victories to triumph, rather than over their Antagonists) and by which they contributed to the lowering the Value of a *Crown*, originally intended for the Encouragement of those only, who by the same Qualities, which entitled them to it, were rendered serviceable to their Country: a Crown, for the obtaining of which, however glorious and *sacred*, a Man of a noble and ingenuous Spirit might well disdain to enter the Lists with a professed *Prize-Fighter*. And by these means were all the salutary Views of those, who first instituted the *Publick Games*, in great measure disappointed; and the Benefits naturally growing out of a proper and moderate Use of the *Gymnastick Exercises*, converted into Mischiefs by the intemperate and short-sighted Folly of

[7] In Solon.

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the

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the *Greeks*; who, to borrow a Metaphor from *Pindar*, neglecting the Mark, and aiming to throw their Arrow too far, over-strained and broke the Bow. An Evil, which seems to have been foreseen and provided against by *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, the wise Lawgivers of their two greatest *Commonwealths*, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*. The former of whom, by limiting the Reward of an *Olympick Conqueror* to no very considerable Sum, endeavoured to check the immoderate Ardour of his Countrymen for the *Gymnastick Exercises*; and the latter not only forbade his *Spartans* to contend in the *Cæstus* and *Pancratium*, but by rewarding a Victory in the *Olympick Games* with a military Post of Honour, made it necessary for those, who aspired to the *Olive Crown*, to qualify themselves for obtaining it in such a Manner, as might render them at the same Time worthy of the honourable Rank annexed to it.

These Abuses however did not grow up all at once; and probably did not arrive at the vicious Excess above described, 'till the *Grecians*, having been first subdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, lost together with their Liberty every Sentiment of true Virtue and Glory; and having no worthier an Object than one of the *Four sacred Crowns* left them to contend for, turned all their Ambition and Application to the obtaining an Honour, which in the most flourishing Periods of *Grecian* Liberty and Glory had ever been regarded with the highest Esteem and Veneration,

But

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But be that as it will, it is evident from the Authorities above cited, and the Reasons before given, that the *Gymnastick Exercises* were for many Ages considered as beneficial to the Publick; and so undoubtedly they were, while they were kept within due Bounds, and directed to the Purposes for which they were originally intended; in which Point of View all political Institutions, Systems of Religion and Government, and the prevailing Customs and Manners of any People, ought principally to be considered by every one, who is desirous of searching out their original Causes, and drawing any Advantages from the Wisdom of remote Ages and distant Countries; the Abuses in any of these being generally to be charged upon the Ignorance or Corruption of After-times; and never to be urged as Arguments against the proper *Use*, for the sake of which they were at first received, and afterwards continued and maintained.

I shall therefore now proceed to point out some farther Advantages of a *Civil Nature*, arising from the *Gymnastick Exercises*; one of which was hinted at in the preceding Dialogue. This is the *Employment* furnished by their means to the *Idle* of all Ages and Conditions. By the *Idle* I do not mean the Indolent and Slothfull, but those who, either on account of their Youth, or for other Reasons, were not engaged in the Service of the State; those, whom a competent Supply of all the Necessaries of Life exempted from Labour and Business; and those whose Occupations allowed them any considerable Portion
of

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of vacant Time. Such Citizens, and of such there is always too large a Number in every populous and wealthy Community, are always dangerous to the Peace and Order of a Commonwealth; which, merely for want of something to do, they are too apt to disturb and break by riotous and factious Enormities. To these the *Gymnasiums*, or *Schools of Exercise*, erected in every City, and furnished with Masters, &c. at the publick Cost, were always open; and thither they were encouraged and invited to resort, not only from the Influence of a prevailing Fashion, which had made the learning the *Gymnastick Exercises* a part even of a Liberal Education, or the Hopes of attaining one Day to the great Honours and Rewards bestowed upon the *Conquerors* in the *sacred Games*, but even upon the Score of Amusement and Health: there being many Exercises taught and practised in those *Schools*, which, though not admitted into the publick *Games*, were nevertheless of great and frequent Use, and tended equally with those, of which I have been hitherto speaking, to render the Bodies of the Practitioners healthy, vigorous, and active. These were the several kinds of *Dances*; some or other of which were constantly introduced on all Occasions of Festivity, private and publick, as Marriages, Religious Festivals, &c. and were performed by a *Chorus*, consisting of a certain Number of Citizens. Those calculated principally for Amusement were several *Sports*, performed with *Balls* of different Sizes. Of all which, comprehended likewise under the
general

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general Name of *Gymnaſtick*, the curious Reader may find a particular Account in three Pieces written by *Monſ. Burette*, and printed in the 2^d Volume of *Memoires de Literature de l'Academie Royale des Inſcriptions, &c.* Of theſe ſeveral Exerciſes the Phyſicians likewiſe took Advantage, frequently preſcribing one or other of them to their Patients, in ſuch Proportions as their different Caſes required; as may be ſeen in *Mercurialis*, and others. The Uſes indeed laſt-mentioned were only collateral, neither proceeding by direct Conſequence from the Games, nor immediately relating to them. But as the *Gymnaſtick Exerciſes* owed the great Vogue and Reputation which they acquired, principally to the *Olympick Games*, and the other *Three Inſtitutions* of the ſame kind; and as the *Gymnaſiums*, with all their Apparatus of Maſters of ſeveral Sorts, Baths hot and cold, open and covered Places for Exerciſe, &c. were originally founded and maintained, with a View of preparing the *Aſcetics* for thoſe Games, we may very fairly place to their Account all the Profit accruing to the Publick from every Species of the *Gymnaſtick Exerciſes*, and from all the various Uſes of the *Gymnaſium*: which latter may be conſidered as a kind of *State Hoſpital*, where that great Branch of Phyſick called *Prophylaetic*, or *Preventive*, ſo much cultivated by the Ancients, though entirely neglected by the Moderns, was practiſed with great Succeſs on all the Members that compoſe the *Body Politick*; which, by the Regimen there preſcribed, not only found its natural Health,

Vigour,

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Vigour, and Spirits fortified and augmented, but was kept from falling into many dangerous Maladies proceeding from Idleness and Luxury, those morbid Principles of political, as well as natural Corruption and Dissolution.

And this leads me to consider another Point of no small Importance; namely, the *Temperance* and *Sobriety*, which all, who aimed at any eminent Proficiency in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, were necessitated to observe. This is taken notice of by *Horace* in these Verses,

*Qui sudet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit, & alsit;
Abstinit venere & vino* [8].

A Youth, who hopes th' *Olympick* Prize to gain,
All Arts must try, and ev'ry Toil sustain;
Th' Extreams of Heat and Cold must often prove,
And shun the weak'ning Joys of Wine and Love.

FRANCIS.

And to this *St. Paul* alludes, in his First Epistle to the [9] *Corinthians* (in whose Territory, and under whose Direction, the *Isthmian Games* were celebrated) in the following Passage: “ Know ye not that they, who run in the
“ Stadium, or Foot-Race, run all, and yet but one receiveth
“ the Prize? so run therefore, that ye may obtain. More-
“ over, every one that contendeth in the Games (*πᾶς δὲ*
“ *ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος*) is temperate in all Things. They indeed,
“ that they may obtain a corruptible Crown; but we, an

[8] Art. Poet. ver. 412.

[9] C. ix. ver. 25.

“ incor-

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“ incorruptible. *Wherefore I for my part so run, as not to*
 “ pass [1] undistinguished (ὡς ἐκ ἀδήλων) so fight (πυκτεύω)
 “ not as beating the Air (i. e. practising in a feigned Com-
 “ bat, without an Adversary) but I bruise and mortify my
 “ Body (ὕπωπιάζω) and bring it under Subjection, left after
 “ having served as a Herald (κηρύξας) to others (by intro-
 “ ducing them into the Christian Stadium) I myself should
 “ come off without Honour and Approbation (ἀδόκιμος
 γένωμαι).” Though there are but two Expressions in this
 Passage that relate to the Point in Question, yet I thought
 proper to translate the whole, that I might shew and ex-
 plain the several Allusions to the Games, here made use
 of by St. Paul; and make the Reader understand the full
 Force of the Argument urged by him upon the *Corinthian*
 Converts, to incite them to the Practice of those Virtues,
 which (he tells them) would be rewarded with a *Crown*
 of everlasting Glory; and which, for the sake of a fad-
 ing and perishable *Crown*, were practised by their unbe-
 lieving Brethren.

To what a Degree of Strictness these latter carried
 their Temperance and Continency of all kinds, with re-
 gard especially to the two Pleasures mentioned by *Horace*,
Women and Wine, may be seen in many Instances col-

[1] ὡς ἐκ ἀδήλων may also signify in this Place, as if I was not un-
 seen, not unobserved, i. e. as if I was in the Presence of the Judge of
 the Games, and of a great Number of Spectators. But this, as well as
 other Parts of my Translation of this Passage, I submit to the more
 learned Reader.

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lected by *Faber* [2], to whom I refer the Reader: and how much those Virtues may be supposed to have contributed to the Health and Vigour of their Bodies (to say nothing of their Minds) may easily be conjectured, from the wretched and deplorable Effects occasioned by their contrary Vices; of which every one's Experience cannot fail of suggesting to him but too many Examples among People of all Ranks and Conditions in this debauched and luxurious Age.

But as this strict Temperance was necessary only to those, who were ambitious of excelling in the *Gymnastick Exercises*, so it may be imagined to have been observed by a very small Number; but if it be remembered, that besides the *Four Sacred Games* so often mentioned, there were others, almost innumerable, of the same Nature, celebrated in every *Grecian* Town and City, in which the *Prizes* were some of them lucrative, and all of them honourable, it may on the contrary be presumed, that the Number of those, who aspired to the Honour of a Victory in any of these *Games*, were pretty considerable; especially before the *Athletick* Art came to be embraced and followed as a *Profession*: consequently many People in every *Grecian* State were for many Ages kept sober, temperate, and chaste, at least to a certain Degree, by the meer Influence of an Ambition; which through the Encouragement of the Publick, and by the various Means of gratifying it offered to People even of the lowest Condition, may not

[2] Agon, L. iii. c. 4.

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unreasonably be supposed to have been almost universal : and this could hardly fail of rendering those Virtues fashionable, and thereby recommending them to the Practice of all those, who seek for no other Rule of Life but the Example of others. It may not indeed be easy, at this Distance of Time, exactly to determine how far this Influence operated ; and I may perhaps be thought, by some People, to have given it a larger Sphere of Action, than either Reason or History will justify. All therefore that I shall at present insist upon is, that the *Gymnastick Exercises*, from the several Causes above assigned, must have had a considerable Effect upon the Manners and Morals of the *Greeks*, in proportion to the Degree of Extensiveness and Care, with which they were cultivated and encouraged.

As a farther Discouragement to Vice and Immorality, the Reader may be pleased to recollect, that no one, who was guilty of any flagrant or notorious Crime, or was depraved in his Morals, could be admitted to contend for the *Olympick Crown*, however otherwise well qualified to obtain it. To this End every *Candidate*, at the Opening of the *Games*, was conducted along the *Stadium* by a *Herald*, who with a loud Voice demanded, whether there was any Person in all that numerous Assembly, who could accuse such a one (naming his Name, &c.) of any Crime ? or charge him with leading a profligate and vicious Life ? neither was it sufficient for the *Candidate* himself to have a Character free from any gross and scandalous

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dalous Imputation, unless he could also in some particular
 Points clear those of his Parents and Ancestors, by shew-
 ing there was no *Bastardy* nor *Adultery* in his Lineage, as
 I have observed in a former Section. The Sanctity of
 the *Olympick Games*, considered as a Religious Festival,
 undoubtedly gave Occasion to this strict Inquiry into the
 Characters of those who were admitted to contend in
 them: and in this Particular, as in many others, it is pro-
 bable the Example set by the *Eleans*, was followed by the
 Superintendants of the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*
Games, all which were esteemed in like manner *sacred*.
 And so indeed were all the *Games*, those at least that were
 celebrated at certain and stated Periods, throughout
Greece; of which the Number was very considerable,
 though the Title of *sacred* seems to have been appro-
 priated by way of Eminence to the *Four* above-mentioned.
 Now, if it be supposed (and I see no Reason why it may
 not be supposed) that every Man of an infamous and vi-
 cious Character was, upon that account, excluded as a
profane Person, from contending in any of these *Games*,
 the greatest Part of which were founded in Religion, it
 must be allowed that these *Institutions* could not but have
 checked in some Degree, and for some Time, the Growth
 of Vice and Immorality among the *Grecians*; Weeds so
 natural to the human Soil, that it requires the greatest At-
 tention, and the utmost Force of Culture, that is, not
 only good Laws, but a strict and diligent Execution of
 those Laws, to keep them under. The Laws of the
Olympick

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Olympick Institution were good, by which I mean, were calculated for the Service of the Publick. And if they failed of their proper Effects for want of having been duly executed, we are not to regard and censure them as useless, 'till we can find a Country or a Society, in which the Administration of the Laws comes up to the Intention of the Legislator.

I have here purposely omitted saying any Thing of the *Equestrian Games*, having in those Sections, which treat of the *Horse-Races*, endeavoured to point out the *Utility* of that Part of the *Olympick Institution*, by shewing that it was intended to encourage the *Breed and Management of Horses*; of which noble and usefull Animal there was for many Ages a great Scarcity in *Greece*. What Success it met with may in some measure be collected from some Instances produced above, of the great Number of *Chariots* contending at one Time in the *Olympick Hippodrome*. Whether the *Equestrian Candidates* were subjected to the publick Inquiry into their Characters, mentioned above, I cannot positively say, though I think it most probable that they were: since the Reasons taken from the Sanctity of that Religious Festival affect *them* equally with the *Gymnastick Candidates*. But this Point I shall leave with the Reader; and now, having shewn how much Vice in general, as well as what particular Species of it, was checked and discountenanced by the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and by *some* Laws of the *Olympick Institution*, I shall proceed to point out what Virtues, or what Principles of Virtue,

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were encouraged and inculcated by *others*. In enumerating these, I shall pass over such as properly belong to the *Gymnastick Exercises*, and of which sufficient Notice hath been already taken, such as Temperance, Fortitude, Patience, &c. and confine myself to speak of those only, which have an immediate Reference to the *Olympick Games*.

The first and most obvious of these is the *Love of Glory*, which (to use the Words of *Solon* in the foregoing Dialogue) if you take away out of human Life, what Virtue shall we have left among us? and who will be ambitious of performing any splendid Action? How powerfull an Incentive the *Love of Glory* is to all generous and noble Deeds, is sensibly experienced by great and ingenuous Minds; and may easily be evinced by numberless Instances in the ancient Histories of the *Greeks* and *Romans*: among whom, as Glory was the principal, if not the sole Reward of all Virtue, Civil as well as Military, so was the Sense and Love of Glory perpetually stimulated and inflamed in the Breasts of Men of all Orders and Degrees, by many Marks of Honour bestowed on the Deserving; such as the several Military Crowns, Supplications, Ovations, Triumphs, Statues, Medals, &c. among the *Romans*: and among the *Grecians*, Statues, Inscriptions, Crowns, sometimes of Gold, with many other Testimonies of the Approbation and Gratitude of the Publick, differing according to the different Customs, or Genius, of each particular State. Of the same kind was the *Olympick Olive*, the
Pythian

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Pythian Laurel, &c. which, having no intrinſick Value in themſelves, could be of no Uſe to the *Conquerors*, but merely as Emblems and Evidences of their Victories, and as ſuch entitling them to the Eſteem and Applauſes of their Countrymen. By the Meaneſs of theſe *Prizes*, therefore, were the *Grecians* given to underſtand, that Praise and Glory were the proper Recompences of worthy Actions. A Doctrine indeed which great and worthy Minds alone can perceive, by the inward Light of their own native Virtue; but which, by the Force of Education and Example, may be inculcated into narrow and groveling Spirits, 'till by Degrees it becomes the favourite Sentiment even of a whole People; and Men of all Ranks, Orders, and Professions, from the King to the loweſt Servant, and the moſt inconfiderable Subject of the State, ſhall think themſelves well paid for any Service done the Publick (and even the meaneſt in ſome Shape or other may be ſerviceable to the Publick) by any Mark of Honour beſtowed upon them on that Account. A Recompence ſo cheap, and yet at the ſame Time ſo efficacious, and ſo productive of Excellencies of all kinds, that they, who neglect to make uſe of it in the Adminiſtration of a Commonwealth, may well be ſuppoſed to have no ſenſe of it themſelves; to know little of the true Arts and Ends of Government, and not to deſerve to be entrusted with it.

I ſhall conclude this Article with a Paſſage from *Herodotus* [5], who in his Hiſtory of the famous Expedition of

[5] Lib. viii. c. 25.

Xerxes against the *Grecians*, relates the following Incident, which happened when that mighty King, attended by Millions, was now far advanced into *Greece*.

“ Some *Arcadian* Fugitives, being in great want of Provisions, came to offer their Services to the King, and being admitted into his Presence were interrogated by the *Persians*, and particularly by one Person; who, among other Questions, asked them, What the *Grecians* were then doing? To which they answered, that the *Greeks* were at that Time celebrating the *Olympick Festival*, and exhibiting a Spectacle of *Gymnastick* and *Equestrian Games*. Being again asked, What was the Prize for which the several *Antagonists* contended? they replied, *A Chaplet of wild Olive*. Upon which *Tigranes*, the Son of *Artabanus*, broke out into an Exclamation, which, though interpreted by the King as the Effect of Cowardice, was certainly an Indication of a brave and generous Mind. For hearing that the Prize contended for by the *Grecians* was a *Chaplet*, and not any pecuniary Reward, he could no longer keep silence, but in the hearing of all the *Persians* said, *Alas, Mardonius! against what kind of Men have you led us here to fight! Men, who engage in a Contest with each other, not for Gold and Silver, but only for a Superiority of Virtue and Glory!*”

Another great Motive to virtuous and noble Actions, suggested to the *Candidates* for the *Olympick Olive*, and through them recommended to all the *Grecians*, was a
due

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due Regard to the Reputation of their Families and Countries. This was intimated by the Custom of joining to the *Name* of the *Candidate*, both before the *Contest* and after the *Victory*, the *Name* of his *Father*, together with that of the *City* or *Country* where he was born, or to which he at that Time belonged. By which Custom the close Union and Connexion, which Nature and Reason had made between a *Son* and *Father*, a *Citizen* and the *State*, was, as it were, ratified and declared by the Authority and Voice of the Publick; and every Man was taught to consider himself, not as a single and independent Individual, but as making Part of a Family and Society; to whom, as participating in some measure of his Glory or Disgrace, he was accountable for his good or bad De-meanour. That the Consideration just mentioned is capable of operating very powerfully, both in restraining Men from infamous Actions and exciting them to good, needs not here be proved. The Force of it is felt and understood by all, and frequently urged as a Topick either of Encouragement or Dehortation, even in common and ordinary Life; in which, if it is of any Efficacy, as it often is, it ought surely to affect, in a much stronger manner, all Persons of a noble and illustrious Parentage, and all the Members of any City, Society, or Kingdom, that make a considerable Figure in the Eyes of Mankind, especially on great and publick Occasions: as in a battle, for Instance, in which every Individual ought to remember, that the Honour of his Country, as well as his own in particular,

that of his Family, or of the *Corps* to which he belongs, is interested in his Behaviour; the Glory of a Victory, and the Disgrace of a Defeat, being generally placed to the Account of the whole Nation; and the Valour or Cowardice of a People too often measured by that of their Troops, who in those Cases are looked upon as their Representatives.

There is also another Circumstance, in which a single Man, though not acting in any publick Character, may yet have it in his Power to do Honour or Discredit to his Country: and this is the Circumstance of a Man travelling into Foreign Nations; where, though himself and his Family may happen both to be equally unknown, his Country may not. In this Case he will be considered only in a *national Light*, if I may so speak, and a general Character of his Countrymen will be formed, from the Specimen he is supposed to give of it in his particular Manners and Behaviour. In this Situation many of the *Candidates*, those especially who came from remote *Grecian* Colonies settled in *Asia*, *Africk*, *Macedonia*, *Sicily*, &c. must in some sort have appeared in the *Olympick Stadium*; which may be looked upon as a kind of *publick Theatre*, where every private *Grecian* might have an Opportunity of producing and signalizing himself, and his own particular City, Town, and Family, in the Presence of all *Greece*. From whence, though neither of them should have gained any other immediate Advantage, besides that of being drawn out of Obscurity, and made known to the

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rest of their Brethren, yet a Foundation was here laid for many more ; a Spirit of Emulation, a Sense of Glory, and a Zeal for the Honour of the Publick, which is always increased by every new Accession of Reputation acquired to it, was infused into all the Members of the Community: who rejoicing with their Fellow-Citizen on these Occasions, and bestowing upon him publick Marks of Distinction, both felt and acknowledged at the same Time, that the Glory of any one Member redounded to the Credit of the whole Body ; and were thereby taught insensibly to regard, in all their Actions, the Dignity and Service of the State. A Principle, to which in conjunction with the *Love of Glory*, spoken to in the foregoing Article, may principally be ascribed all the Virtue, Valour, Wisdom, with many Excellencies of an inferior kind, which adorn and dignify the *Greek* and *Roman* Name. By both which People, but more generally by the former, were these two great Principles, so fruitfull in Merit of all Sorts, cultivated with the utmost Diligence and Care, and by many various Methods disseminated throughout all Orders and Professions of Men.

Concord and Union among themselves was also plainly insinuated, and strongly recommended to all the different People of *Greece*, by another Law of the *Olympick Games* ; that I mean, by which all, who were not of *Greek Extraction*, were excluded from contending in them. By this *Law* they were reminded of their being Brethren, and incorporated as it were into one Nation, under one com-

mon Name. Had due Attention been paid to this wise and politick Ordinance, under the Sanction of which they were invited to meet together every fifth Year, in order to join in sacrificing to one and the same Deity, the common Father and Protector of the whole *Grecian* Name; and in celebrating Games, in which all *Grecians*, and only *Grecians*, were equally admitted to contend, for a *Crown* equally revered by them all: to this Ordinance, I say, which may be considered as a sacred Band of Union, had due Attention been paid by the several States into which the *Grecians* were distributed, they need not have dreaded either the *Roman* Commonwealth or the *Persian* Monarchy; the latter of which was checked and humbled more than once, and at length entirely subdued by no very considerable Part of the *Grecian* Body; and the former prevailed over them more by means of the intestine Feuds and Divisions, which had for many Ages weakened and disjointed the Forces of *Greece*, than from their own intrinsic Strength, or from any Superiority either in Valour or in military Skill, which the *Romans* possessed over their *Grecian* Antagonists. But what avail the most salutary Laws, or the best framed Systems of Government, without a sufficient Authority to enforce the Execution of the one, and to keep together the several Parts of the other, to give each its proper Motion, and to make them all concur in one Operation, and mutually unite their Forces to strengthen and support the Common Cause? This was always wanting to the *Greeks*,
 who

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who never but once, as I can remember, acted in Concert under the Direction of a single Person; and that was in their very early Times, when they lived not in Commonwealths, but under limited Monarchies, I mean in their Expedition against the City of *Troy*, under *Agamemnon*, who seems to have been invested with no other Powers, but such as were barely necessary for the General of an Army; and to have been raised to that Authority, chiefly on account of his being principally concerned in a War undertaken solely to revenge an Injury done to his Family in the Person of his Brother *Menelaus*. In the *Persian War* indeed, the chief Command both by Land and Sea was yielded to the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Pretensions to it were founded more upon their own Pride, and submitted to rather from the pressing Necessity of the Times, than the Strength and Greatness of their Republic. The *Athenians*, who had as good, and perhaps a better Claim to it, acquiesced for that Time under the Superiority thus allowed to *Sparta*; and to this they were induced by a generous Concern for the common Liberty of *Greece*, for which, to do them Justice, they always shewed a more disinterested Regard than their Rivals the *Lacedæmonians*; and upon that Occasion contributed more to preserve it. But no-sooner were the *Persians* driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* a little recovered from the ruinous Condition, to which that War had reduced her, than almost all the little States of *Greece*, properly so called, fell into a Civil War, occasioned by a Dispute between those

mon Name. Had due Attention been paid to this wise and politick Ordinance, under the Sanction of which they were invited to meet together every fifth Year, in order to join in sacrificing to one and the same Deity, the common Father and Protector of the whole *Grecian* Name; and in celebrating Games, in which all *Grecians*, and only *Grecians*, were equally admitted to contend, for a *Crown* equally revered by them all: to this Ordinance, I say, which may be considered as a sacred Band of Union, had due Attention been paid by the several States into which the *Grecians* were distributed, they need not have dreaded either the *Roman* Commonwealth or the *Persian* Monarchy; the latter of which was checked and humbled more than once, and at length entirely subdued by no very considerable Part of the *Grecian* Body; and the former prevailed over them more by means of the intestine Feuds and Divisions, which had for many Ages weakened and disjointed the Forces of *Greece*, than from their own intrinsic Strength, or from any Superiority either in Valour or in military Skill, which the *Romans* possessed over their *Grecian* Antagonists. But what avail the most salutary Laws, or the best framed Systems of Government, without a sufficient Authority to enforce the Execution of the one, and to keep together the several Parts of the other, to give each its proper Motion, and to make them all concur in one Operation, and mutually unite their Forces to strengthen and support the Common Cause? This was always wanting to the *Greeks*,
 who

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who never but once, as I can remember, acted in Concert under the Direction of a single Person; and that was in their very early Times, when they lived not in Commonwealths, but under limited Monarchies, I mean in their Expedition against the City of *Troy*, under *Agamemnon*, who seems to have been invested with no other Powers, but such as were barely necessary for the General of an Army; and to have been raised to that Authority, chiefly on account of his being principally concerned in a War undertaken solely to revenge an Injury done to his Family in the Person of his Brother *Menelaus*. In the *Persian War* indeed, the chief Command both by Land and Sea was yielded to the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Pretensions to it were founded more upon their own Pride, and submitted to rather from the pressing Necessity of the Times, than the Strength and Greatness of their Republick. The *Athenians*, who had as good, and perhaps a better Claim to it, acquiesced for that Time under the Superiority thus allowed to *Sparta*; and to this they were induced by a generous Concern for the common Liberty of *Greece*, for which, to do them Justice, they always shewed a more disinterested Regard than their Rivals the *Lacedæmonians*; and upon that Occasion contributed more to preserve it. But no-sooner were the *Persians* driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* a little recovered from the ruinous Condition, to which that War had reduced her, than almost all the little States of *Greece*, properly so called, fell into a Civil War, occasioned by a Dispute between
those

those two powerfull Republicks for Dominion and Sovereignty ; which, had it been originally lodged in either, or in one single Person, and limited by just and equal Laws, might not only have guarded the Liberties of *Greece* against any foreign Invader, but even have extended their Empire farther than it was carried by the Arms of *Alexander the Great*. By such an Authority, at least, all the intestine Feuds and Civil Wars might have been prevented, which so miserably harassed the *Grecians* all the Time that they continued to enjoy, under their favourite Democratical Governments, the beloved Liberty of every State (I had almost said, every Man) consulting its own separate and particular Interest, to the Neglect, and indeed to the final Destruction, of the general Prosperity and Freedom of the whole *Greek Body*.

In such a State of Civil Hostility and Confusion were the Inhabitants of the *Peloponnesus*, when *Iphitus King of Elis*, supported by the Authority of the *Delphick Oracle*, instituted the *Olympick Games*: to which inviting them *all*, under the common Appellation of *Grecians*, he required them to suspend their Animosities ; and, by the express Commands of the aforesaid *Oracle*, proclaimed a *Cessation of Arms* among all those States, who were then at War with each other. As by comprehending *all*, who were admitted to partake in this Solemnity, under the common Denomination of *Grecians*, he plainly intimated to them that they were *Brethren*, so did he oblige them to meet together as such, by compelling them, under the Penalty
of

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of being fined, and excluded from sacrificing to *Olympian Jupiter*, to forbear all Acts of Hostility during the Celebration of that *holy Festival*, and for some Time before and after; thus like a true *Hellanodick*, or *Judge and Arbitrer of Greece*, as the Word imports, summoning them, as it were, before his Tribunal, to end all their Quarrels by the amicable Method of Mediation. For it was with the View of constituting the *Eleans Mediators of Greece*, that they were commanded to abstain from War, as we may learn from the following Passage of *Pblegon*: “ The *Eleans* after this [*i. e.* after the Establishment of the *Olympick Festival*] being inclined to assist the *Lacedæmonians*, who were then laying Siege to *Elis*, sent to *Delphi* to know the Pleasure of the God; who by his *Priestess* answered them in these Words: *Defend your own Country if attacked, but refrain from War, being yourselves the Examples and Arbiters of Amity and Concord to all the Grecians, ’till the Return of the Fifth [or Olympick] Year, which brings Peace with it.* In Obedience to this Oracle the *Eleans* abstained wholly from War, and gave themselves up to the Superintendency of the *Olympick Games*.”

Considering the divided Condition of the *Greeks*, and their Aptness to quarrel with each other, one may easily conceive the great Advantage arising from their having one Nation among them thus set apart, and consecrated, as it were, to the Office of a *Mediator*, by being forbidden to intermeddle in any of their Broils, or to molest their Neighbours;

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Neighbours ; and being themselves sheltered from all Invasions as an *Holy People*, under the Protection of the *King and Father of Gods and Men*, as he was styled by the *Greeks*. Who was the real Author of so wise an Institution, and how much Honour was due to him on that Account, the *Eleans* have plainly intimated by an *Emblematical* Figure of a Woman, named *Ececbiria* (a *Greek* Word signifying an *Armistice*, or *Truce*) crowning the Statue of *Iphitus*, erected by them in the very Temple of *Olympian Jupiter*, as I have before observed. To this *Mediatorial Tribunal*, thus appointed and protected by the Gods, the *Grecians* might have had Recourse, whenever they were inclined to terminate their Quarrels in an amicable Manner. But upon the Return of the *Olympick Festival*, they were all equally obliged, however deeply engaged in War with each other, and how averse soever to Peace, to suspend their Enmity, and meet together at *Olympia*, where, besides the Dignity and Authority of the *Mediator*, every Thing tended to conciliate their Minds to each other, and introduce Amity and Concord between the contending Parties. The Place itself was sacred to Peace ; the Solemnity was founded in Religion ; and in the *Games* (in which all, who were entitled to the Denomination of *Grecians*, were equally admitted to contend, whether Friends or Foes, and from which all Rancour and Malice in the Combatants was excluded, under severe Penalties) in the *Games*, I say, was exhibited a Spectacle in itself highly amusing and entertaining, and
attended

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attended moreover with a perpetual Succession of Banquets, and all other Accompaniments of Festivity and Joy. And as the several Parts of this great Institution drew to *Olympia* an infinite Multitude of People from all Parts, so did that numerous Assembly invite thither the Men of the greatest Eminency in all the Arts of Peace ; such as Historians, Orators, Philosophers, Poets and Painters ; who perceiving that the most compendious Way to Fame lay through *Olympia*, were there induced to exhibit their best Performances, at the Time of the Celebration of the *Olympick Games*. To this Assembly *Herodotus* [6] read his History, to this Assembly *Acion*, a celebrated Painter, shewed his famous Picture of the Marriage of *Alexander* and *Roxana* ; and for this Assembly *Hippias* the *Elean*, a *Sophist*, *Prodicus* the *Cean*, *Anaximenes* the *Chian*, *Polus* of *Agrigentum*, and many other *Sophists*, *Historians*, and *Orators*, composed Discourses and Harangues ; and thither *Dionysius*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, sent a Poem of his own writing to be recited publicly, by Persons hired for that Purpose. From whence, says *Lucian* [7], they reaped the Advantage of gaining at once the general Suffrages of all *Greece* ; every State having its Representative, as it were, in that numerous and solemn Convention, and all who assisted on these Occasions carrying with them to their respective Countries the Name and Reputation of that Person, to whose Glory the Common Seal of *Greece*, if I may so speak, had already been

[6] *Lucian* in *Herodoto*,

[7] *Ibid*.

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set at *Olympia*. By the Pleasure arising from these Works of Peace, and the Applauses bestowed upon them, the Minds of Men were insensibly softened and diverted from the Thoughts of War. Besides, in so numerous an Assembly of the most considerable Persons of *Greece*, there never could be wanting some Patriots of Ability and Authority to interpose their friendly Offices, and incline the contending Parties to listen to an Accommodation; as was once done by *Gorgias*, a celebrated *Rhetorician*, who, having composed an admirable Treatise upon the Subject of Concord, read it publicly at *Olympia* to all the *Grecians*, who were at that Time quarrelling among themselves.

But besides the *Religious Solemnity*, and the *Gymnastick* and *Equestrian Games*, *Iphitus* also instituted a Fair [8], to be held at *Olympia* at the same Time; with a View, doubtless, of uniting the several People of *Greece* still closer to each other, in a friendly Intercourse of mutual Commerce, which can only flourish in Times of Peace; and which, by the many Advantages it brings along with it, as well to the Publick as to the particular Persons engaged in the various Branches of Trade, naturally tends to call off the Attention of Mankind from War and Violence, and, what perhaps is still worse, the stupid and lazy Indolence of an uncivilized and savage Life, to the more pleasing Methods of polishing and enriching themselves

[8] Velleius Paterc. L. v.

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and their Countries, by cultivating all the usefull Arts of Civil and Social Industry.

When the *Grecians* happened to be free from these intestine Distractions, to which they were too much subject, their meeting together at *Olympia* every *Fifth* Year was highly beneficial to them upon other Accounts. For as they were, by their various Settlements on the Coasts of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and in *Europe*, dispersed and scattered into very distant Parts of the World, they had, at the Return of the *Olympick Festival*, an Opportunity of acquainting themselves exactly with each other's Strength and Condition, by means either of the *Candidates*, who came from all Parts to contend for the *Olympick Olive*, or of the *Deputies* sent by every *Grecian* City with Victims and Offerings to *Olympian Jupiter*. By the same means also they might receive Information of any Danger, which seemed to threaten the whole Community of *Greece*, or those of their Brethren who were settled on the Frontiers, and exposed to the Attacks of their common and perpetual Foes; whom, as well for Distinction sake as out of Hatred and Contempt, they stiled *Barbarians*. Against these, that is indeed, against all the Nations that surrounded them, and especially the *Persian*, their nearest and most formidable Enemy, it behoved them to be constantly on their Guard, as all the *Greek* Inhabitants of *Asia*, whose Number was very considerable, were in continual and immediate Danger of being swallowed up by that mighty Empire; and with their Safety that of their

European

European Brethren was so closely connected, that if the Banks, which kept the great *Persian* Ocean within its Bounds, should happen, for want of their Concurrence to strengthen and support them, to be once broken down, it was to be feared the Inundation would soon extend to *Greece* itself, properly so called; as they once experienced, to the great Hazard of the total Destruction of the whole *Grecian* Name. As their meeting therefore at *Olympia* furnished them with an Opportunity of knowing their own Strength and Condition, as well as the Forces and Preparations of their common Enemies, so were they enabled by the same means to provide in the most effectual Manner for the general Security, by deliberating and consulting on the State of the Publick, strengthening the Union among themselves, and mutually exhorting and encouraging each other, to guard and maintain their common Liberties, and in every Case to proportion the Defence to the Danger that threatened either the whole, or any Part of the whole Community of *Greece*. Here too any particular State of *Greece*, that was oppressed by a powerfull Faction of her own Citizens, or by the Invasion of a Sister State, might make her Complaints, and plead her Cause before the rest of her Brethren, by whose Interposition she might be relieved from a Grievance, which her single Strength was not sufficient to redress.

As *Olympia*, from the Causes before assigned, grew to be a Place of general Resort, *Greece* derived from thence some other Advantages, which probably were not at first foreseen:

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foreseen, for in Process of Time *Olympia* became a kind of publick Repository of Historical Monuments; in which were kept, engraven upon Marble Columns, many solemn Treaties made between particular States of *Greece*, and there recorded as lasting Witnesses against those who should infringe them: many Memorials of singular and remarkable Events, as well as of great and illustrious Actions, were there exhibited in Trophies, Votive Statues, and other rich Donations, estimated at the tenth Part of the Value of the Spoils, and sometimes even Part of the Spoils themselves taken from the Enemy, consecrated chiefly to *Olympian Jupiter*, and accompanied with Inscriptions, in which the several Events that gave Occasion to them were specified, and the Names of the particular States, and principal Persons concerned, were delivered down to Posterity. In *Olympia* also, as in the chief Seat and Residence of Fame, if I may so speak, were erected Statues in Honour of many eminent and illustrious Men; of most of which the Reader may find a particular Account in the Fifth and Sixth Books of *Pausanias*, to which I refer him, as it would be too tedious to enumerate them in this Place. By these publick Monuments every *Grecian*, who resorted to *Olympia*, was instructed in many great Points of History, relating as well to his own particular Country as to *Greece* in general; reminded of the glorious Exploits of his Ancestors and Countrymen, and excited to imitate their Virtues, in hopes of acquiring one Day the like Honour to himself

and his Country. And by these even Foreigners were induced to entertain a very high Opinion of a People, among whom they found so many Instances of Merit of every kind, and so generous and general a Disposition to preserve the Memory and Lustre of worthy Men, to serve as Examples and Encouragements to After-Ages.

These were some of the principal Advantages (for I do not pretend to have considered all) accruing to *Greece* from the Institution of the *Olympick Games*; which, tho' they were for above a thousand Years so highly revered by the *Grecians*, and are so frequently alluded to by all the *Greek*, and by many *Roman* Authors, are yet but imperfectly known even to Men of Learning; and have never, that I know of, been placed in the Light in which I have considered them. A Light, by which, I flatter myself, they will now appear to have been established upon great Political Views; to have had a considerable Influence upon the Manners and Morals of the *Greeks*, and consequently to deserve the Notice of all those, who, for the sake of Knowledge and Improvement, read the Writings and History of that great People, so abounding in Philosophers and Legislators.

The other *Three sacred Games*, namely, the *Pythian*, *Isthmian*, and *Nemean*, were of the same kind, and consisted of the same kind of Exercises; to which were added, in the *Pythian Games*, and perhaps in the others, *Poetical* and *Musical Contests*; and in them, as also at *Olympia*, even *Heralds* or *Cryers*, and *Trumpeters*, were admitted to contend

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contend with each other, though I cannot find that these last mentioned Conteſts were exhibited in the *Stadium*; at least not at *Olympia*, where there was a Place appropriated to them, and where it seems to me that the *Conquerors* did not receive a *Crown*; for which Reason I did not think proper to mention them before.

From what has been said of the *Utility* of the *Olympick Games*, we may draw this general Inference:

That even the *Sports* and *Diversions* of a People may be turned to the Advantage of the Publick. Or rather,

That a wise and prudent Governor of a State may dispose the People to such Sports and Diversions, as may render them more serviceable to the Publick; and that by impartially bestowing a few *honorary Prizes* upon those, who should be found to excell in any *Contest* he shall think proper to appoint, he may excite in the Husbandman, the Manufacturer, and the Mechanick, as well as in the Soldier, and the Sailor, and Men of superior Orders and Professions, such an Emulation, as may tend to promote Industry, encourage Trade, improve the Knowledge and Wisdom of Mankind, and consequently make his Country victorious in War, and in Peace opulent, virtuous, and happy.

MENEXENUS.

A

Dialogue of PLATO.

THEORY OF THE

THEORY OF THE

M E N E X E N U S.

A

DIALOGUE of PLATO.

A R G U M E N T.

This Piece of Plato, though entitled a Dialogue, consists chiefly of an Oration, to which the Dialogue was intended to serve only for an Introduction or Vehicle ; and is accordingly very short. The Subject of this Oration is the Commemoration of all those Athenians, who, from the Beginning of the Commonwealth to the Time of Plato, had died in the Service of their Country ; a Subject that takes in so considerable a Portion of the History of Athens, that I rather chuse to refer the Reader to those Authors who have treated at large of the Transactions of that State, than to set down the several Events here alluded to, in Notes, which would soon swell to a bulk much larger than the Oration itself. It may not however be improper to premise a short Account of the Custom, which gave birth to this and many other Orations, spoken by some of the greatest Orators of Athens ; as such an Account may tend to put the Reader into a proper Situation of Mind to judge of the Beauties and Blemishes of this famous Panegy-

rick, by leading him as it were to Athens, and making him one of the Audience. Take it therefore in the Words of Thucydides thus translated.

“ In the same Winter [namely, in the first Year of the Peloponnesian War] the Athenians, in obedience to the Laws
 “ of their Country, performed, at the publick Expence, the
 “ Obsequies of those Citizens, who first lost their Lives in this
 “ War: the Manner of which is as follows. Three Days
 “ before that appointed for the Funeral, they erect a Pavilion, underneath which they lay out the Bones of the
 “ Deceased, allowing to their respective Friends and Relations the Liberty of bringing whatever they judge proper to add, by way of shewing their particular Concern or
 “ Regard for those who belonged to them. On the Day of the Interment there are brought in Waggon (or Horses)
 “ so many Chests (or Coffins) made of Cypress, one for every
 “ Tribe, in which are put the Bones of the Deceased, each
 “ Man according to his Tribe. Besides these there is an
 “ empty Bier, properly covered in Honour of those, whose Bodies could not be found and brought away in order for
 “ their Interment. In the funeral Procession whosoever is
 “ disposed, whether he be a Citizen or a Foreigner, has leave
 “ to march, together with the female Kindred of the Deceased, who assist at the Sepulchre, making great Lamentations. After this they deposite the Bones in the publick
 “ Cemetery, which is situated in the most beautifull Suburbs
 “ of the City; and here they have always been accustomed
 “ bury all who fall in Battle, those only excepted, who were
 “ slain

" slain at Marathon, to whom, as to Men of distinguished
 " and uncommon Virtue, they performed their Obsequies in
 " the very Place where they lost their Lives. As soon as
 " the Remains are buried in the Ground, some Athenian,
 " eminent as well for his Wisdom as his Dignity, is ap-
 " pointed by the State to pronounce a suitable Oration in ho-
 " nour of the Dead. After which the whole Company de-
 " part. This is the Manner, in which the Athenians per-
 " form the Funerals of those who are slain in Battle, and
 " this Custom they constantly observe in every War, as often
 " as the Case happens, in conformity to a Law enacted for
 " that purpose."

From this Account, and some other Particulars mentioned in the
 ensuing Oration, it is evident that these Publick Funerals
 were performed with great Pomp and Solemnity by the whole
 Body of the Athenian People; to whom therefore, considered
 upon this Occasion under two Heads, namely, as Citizens of
 Athens, and as Relations and Friends of the Deceased, the
 Orator was in reason obliged to accommodate his Discourse:
 which from hence he was under a necessity of dividing like-
 wise into two Heads. Under the first he was to apply him-
 self to the Citizens of Athens in general; under the second,
 to the Parents, Children, and Kindred of the Deceased in
 particular. For the Topicks proper to be insisted upon under
 these two Heads, he was left at liberty to select such as he
 judged most suitable to the Occasion on which he was to speak.
 The Occasion was solemn and mournfull. Consolatories
 therefore were to be administered as well to the Publick, as to

Individuals, who were there come together to perform the last Offices to their Fellow-Citizens and Relations. To the Publick no Topick of Consolation could be so effectual as that, which by setting before them the Glory and Advantages accruing to the Commonwealth from the Actions of those brave Citizens who had lost their Lives in the Service of their Country, tended to call off their Attention from the Calamity, which they were then assembled to commemorate. And this Topick was very naturally suggested to the Orator by the many publick Monuments erected in honour of those, who had fallen in Battle, and scattered up and down the Place where he was to pronounce his Oration. Plato accordingly made choice of this Topick; and hath dwelt upon it with equal Judgment and Eloquence through the greater part of the following Panegyrick. But while I commend his Eloquence and Judgment in managing this Subject, I think it necessary to profess that I cannot altogether approve of his Manner of introducing it. What he says about the Athenians springing originally out of the Earth, the very Land in which they dwelt, &c. is far-fetched, unphilosophical, and absurd; and can only be defended by the same kind of Plea with that made use of by Pausanias, a great Collector of popular Legends and Fables, in excuse of some Grecian Antiquaries: "They are not ignorant (says he) that many Things, which they relate, are far from being agreeable to Truth: they think themselves however obliged to relate them; since it is no easy matter to prevail upon the Multitude to admit Opinions contrary to those which they have already received."

"ceived." The People of Athens were so seriously vain of this imaginary Original as to style themselves Αὐτόχθονες, that is, born of the Soil which they inhabited, and Τέρνυες, Grasshoppers.; which Insect was by them imagined to be generated of the Earth. Accordingly some old Men among the Athenians, as we learn from Thucydides, were accustomed to wear upon their Heads the Figure of a Grasshopper in Gold: an emblematical Ornament denoting, according to the vulgar Opinion, their Earthly Original.

The remaining Part of this first Division contains an artfull and noble Panegyrick in honour of the State and People of Athens; which (some due Allowances being made to the Partiality of the Orator for his native Country) evidently proves, what indeed will appear to any one who attentively examines the Grecian History, that the Athenians were unquestionably the first and greatest People of Greece.

The second Part, in which the Orator addresses himself to the Relations of the Deceased, is as beautifull a Piece of Oratory, as is to be met with in all Antiquity. I shall not here forestall the Reader's Judgment or Pleasure by pointing out the particular Passages worthy of Admiration. They are so striking that he cannot fail taking notice of them; and the more they surprize, the more they will please. I shall only beg leave to inform him that it was principally for the sake of this latter Part that I translated the whole Oration, with a view of adding to the noble and rational Entertainments of a Person, whom I shall ever honour and lament, and whose admirable Judgment, and exquisite Taste, the genuine Product

Product of Good-Sense, and a great and virtuous Mind, made her desirous of being acquainted with every thing that is excellent as well among the Ancients as the Moderns. I hope I shall be pardoned for taking occasion of paying this slight Tribute to her Memory, which is as dear to me, as her Loss is irreparable. Her Loss is truly indeed irreparable to all those, who knew her intimately and loved her sincerely, and would be insupportable, were it not for those Arguments of Consolation, which her equally admirable Husband hath suggested in a [1] Poem dedicated to her Memory; Arguments of Consolation infinitely superiour to any made use of by Plato in the ensuing Oration, and indeed to any that mere Philosophy is capable of producing.

[1] *Vid.* Monody to the Memory of a Lady lately deceased, printed in 1747.



MENEXENUS

M E N E X E N U S.

A

Dialogue of P L A T O.

SOCRATES, MENEXENUS.

Soc. **W**HENCE come you, *Menexenus*? from the Forum?

Men. From the Forum, *Socrates*, and from the Senate-house. *Soc.* What particular Business called you to the Senate-house? I suppose, most wonderfull young Man, that imagining yourself arrived to the higheft Pitch of Learning and Philosophy, and every way sufficiently qualified, you are purposing to turn yourself to Affairs of greater Importance, and that we may never want a supply of Magistrates out of your Family, you yourself are thinking, young as you are, of governing us old Fellows.

Men. Indeed, *Socrates*, I should most readily entertain such an Ambition, encouraged by your Permission and Advice; but otherwise, I would by no means think of it. The Occasion of my going to the Senate-house to-day was the having heard that they intended to make choice of the Orator who is to speak the Funeral Oration in honour of Those, who were slain in the Service of their Country. For Preparations, you

know,

know, are now making to celebrate their Obsequies at the publick Expence. *Soc.* Very true. Pray, whom

have they chosen? *Men.* No body as yet. They have adjourned that Consideration till to-morrow: but I suppose either *Dion* or *Archinus* will be appointed. *Soc.*

Sure, *Menexenus*, it must needs be a fine thing for a Man to die in Battle; for, be he ever so poor and inconsiderable, he will have the good Fortune at least to be buried with Pomp and Splendor, and to have his Praises set forth by wise and ingenious Men; not in crude and extemporary Panegyricks, but in Discourses well considered and prepared for a long time before. And indeed so magnificent, so copious, and even exuberant upon every Topick, and so beautifully variegated with fine Names and Words are the Panegyricks which our Orators give us upon these Occasions, that they as it were bewitch our Souls; and what with the Encomiums, which they so plentifully pour out upon the City, upon Those who have at any time died in Battle, upon the whole Series of our Ancestors, even to the remotest Ages, and what with those which they bestow upon the Audience, I myself, *Menexenus*, have often been animated with a generous Pride, and listening in a kind of Extasy to their Flatteries, have for the Time imagined myself grown greater, more noble, and more illustrious, and have fancied not only that I myself appeared more considerable in the Eyes of those Strangers, who at any time accompanied me upon those Occasions, but that they also were affected in the same Manner; and
persuaded

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persuaded by the Orator to look upon me and *Athens* with more Admiration than before. And this Sense of my own Dignity and Importance hath often remained upon me for more than three Days. Nay, with so powerful a Charm hath the Discourse and even the Voice of the Speaker sunk into my Ears, that for four or five Days I have scarce been able to recollect myself, or know in what Part of the World I was; but imagined myself sometimes an Inhabitant of the *Fortunate Islands*. So dextrous are our Orators!

Men. Socrates, you are always rallying the Orators. However, I am afraid the Person they shall now pitch upon, will not come off so well; for as he will be appointed on a sudden, he will be necessitated to speak without any Preparation.

Soc. How so, my good Friend? This sort of People have Orations always ready prepared. Besides, it is no difficult matter to speak *extempore* upon such Topicks. Was a Man required to celebrate the Praises of the *Athenians* in an Assembly of *Peloponnesians*, or of the *Peloponnesians* in an Assembly of *Athenians*, he must be an excellent Orator indeed to gain the Assent and Approbation of his Auditory. But when a Man is to perform before an Audience, whose Praises are the Subject of his Discourse, it seems to be no difficult Matter to make a good Speech.

Men. Is that your Opinion, *Socrates*? *Soc.* I protest it is.

Men. Do you believe that you yourself should be able to make a Speech, supposing the Senate should nominate you?

Soc. If I should, *Menexenus*, it would be no great Wonder, considering

considering I have been instructed by a Mistress, who is so far from being contemptible in Rhetorick, that she hath made many good Orators, one in particular who excelled all the *Greeks*, *Pericles* the Son of *Xanthippus*. *Men.*

What Mistress do you speak of? I suppose you mean *Aspasia*. [1] *Soc.* I mean *Her*, and *Connus* the Son of *Metrobius* also. For these Two are my Masters: He in

[1] *Soc.* I mean *Her* and *Connus* — For these Two were my Masters: He in *Musick*, and She in *Rhetorick*.] *Aspasia*, the Lady to whom *Socrates* gives the Honour of the ensuing Oration, as well as of that spoken formerly by *Pericles* on the like Occasion, was born at *Miletus*, and was indeed in great Favour with *Pericles*, as may be seen in *Plutarch*. What is here said of her having instructed *Pericles*, and many other good Orators besides *Socrates*, in *Rhetorick*, whether strictly true or not, shews at least that she had as great a Reputation for Wit, as for Beauty. But it appears from this Passage, that *Rhetorick*, which is the *Art of Composition*, was not, in the Opinion of the *Athenians*, alone sufficient to make a complete Orator; *Musick*, which, as far as it relates to Oratory, and whenever it is put in contradistinction to *Rhetorick* (as in this Passage) can only mean an *harmonious Pronunciation*, or a *melodious Modulation of the Voice*; *Musick*, I say, in the Sense now mentioned, was likewise deemed a Science necessary to be learnt by all, who intended to speak in publick. And hence I am confirmed in an Opinion, which I have entertained many Years, and in which I find I am not single, *viz.* That Accents were originally *musical Notes* set over Words to direct the several *Tones* and *Inflexions* of the Voice requisite to give the whole Sentence its proper *Harmony* and *Cadence*. The Names of the *Greek Accents*, ὀξεῖς, βαρεῖς, περιπλάγιαι, *acute, grave, and circumflex*, speak their musical Origin, and correspond exactly to three Terms made use of in our modern *Musick*, namely, *Sharp, Flat, and a Grave*, called the *Turn*, consisting, like the *Circumflex*, of a *sharp* and a *flat Note*. I shall not here enter into the Question concerning the Antiquity of Accents, which many learned Men take to be of modern Invention; though if they were used for musical Marks, as I am

Musick,

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Musick, She in Rhetorick. That a Man thus educated should be a good Speaker is not very surprizing, since it is not impossible even for a Scholar of *Lamprius* or *Antiphon*, who either for Musick or Rhetorick are much inferior to my Masters; I say, it is not impossible even for such an one to gain the good Opinion of the *Athenians*, when he makes their Praises the Theme of his Oration. *Men.* And

persuaded they were, they were probably as ancient as the Application of that Science, from whence they were borrowed to form a right Pronunciation and harmonious Cadence; which was as ancient at least as the Time of *Plato*. It is no wonder, however, that many old Manuscripts and Inscriptions are found without Accents: As they were intended solely for the Instruction of those, who were desirous of reading and speaking properly, they were, in all likelihood, made use of only by Masters of Musick in the Lessons which they gave their Scholars upon Pronunciation. Neither is it surprizing that the ancient *Greeks* should descend to such minute Niceties in forming their Orators, when it is considered that Oratory, from its great Use and Importance in their publick Assemblies, was in the highest Esteem among them, and carried by them to its utmost Perfection.

From what has been said I am induced to beg leave to make an Observation or two. 1. From not understanding, or not attending to the original and right Use of Accents in the *Greek*, however transmitted down to these Times, has arisen one of the grossest Perversions and Abuses, that Ignorance or Barbarism itself could possibly have introduced into any Language; and that is, Reading by Accent, as it is called, and practised in most of the Schools (*Eaton* excepted) and in the Universities of this Kingdom, not to say of all *Europe*. For by this Method of reading, in which no Regard is paid to the long or short Vowels or Diphthongs, the natural *Quantity* of the Words is overturned; and the Poets, who never wrote, and indeed are never read, and can never be read, by *Accent*, must be supposed to have measured the Language by a Rule different from that followed by the Writers and Speakers in Prose, that is, all the rest of their Countrymen; which indeed is an

pray what would you say, were you to speak? *Soc.*
 From my own Stock perhaps little or nothing. But yesterday I heard *Aspasia* pronounce a Funeral Oration upon the Subject of these very Persons; for she had just heard, what you tell me, that the *Athenians* were going to chuse an Orator for the Occasion: upon which she immediately ran over to me the Topicks, that were proper to be insisted upon; and what she had formerly made use of, when she composed the Funeral Oration spoken by *Pericles*; out of the Scraps of which, I imagine, she patched

Absurdity too great to be supposed; and therefore, I imagine, it will not be pretended that the ancient *Greeks* spoke by Accent: if this therefore be an Absurdity too great to be charged upon the ancient *Greeks*, why should it be imposed upon those who now study that Language, and who, by this Method, are obliged, when they read Poetry, to neglect the Accent, and when they read Prose, to disregard the Quantity: which is to make two Languages of one. Much more might be said against this preposterous Usage of Accents, which seems to me to have arisen at first from the Ignorance and Idleness of School-masters, who not knowing the true Quantity of the Words, and not caring to acquaint themselves with it, took the short and easy Way of directing themselves and their Scholars by those *Marks* which they saw placed over certain Syllables. These they took for their Guides in reading Prose, though in Poetry, as has been said, they were necessitated to observe a different Rule, *viz.* the Measure of the Verse, where known, as that of *Hexameters*, *Iambicks*, *Anapaests*, &c. but in the great Variety of Measures made use of by *Pindar*, and the Dramatick Writers, they were still at a loss, and therefore, in reading those Odes were obliged to have recourse to Accents, to the utter Subversion of all Quantity and Harmony. If it should be thought worth the while to correct this illiterate Abuse in our Schools and Seminaries of Learning, it may be proper either to print such Books, as are put into the Hands of young Beginners, without Accents, or to substitute in their stead such Marks as

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up this Discourse. *Men.* Can you remember what she said?

Soc. Else I should be much to blame, for she took the pains to teach it me herself; and refreshed my Memory with a few Boxes on the Ear, whenever I forgot any thing. *Men.* What then hinders your repeating

may serve to shew the Quantity of the several Syllables: to which end I would recommend to all future Compilers of Lexicons and Grammars, to mark, after the Example of many *Latin* Lexicographers, the Quantities of all the Syllables; many of which are reducible to general Rules, and others may be discovered and ascertained by carefully comparing the correspondent Measures of the Strophé, Antistrophé, Epode, &c. in the *Greek* Ode.

The second Observation I have to make shall be very short, because it has been made many Years ago, particularly by the learned and ingenious Authors of the *Spectators*. It is very surprizing, that in this our Nation, so famed for Good Sense and Learning, and where Oratory is applied to such interesting and important Subjects, as are treated of in Parliament, in the Courts of Justice, and in the Pulpit, so little, I had almost said, no Attention should be paid to the forming a proper, at least, if not a graceful Manner of Speaking in those who, either by their Birth and Fortune, or by their Profession, are destined to speak in publick. In *Greece* we see a just and harmonious Pronunciation was taught by professed Masters, and *Socrates* himself did not disdain to learn it. Why therefore should it not be taught at least in our great Schools and Universities, in which so many Noblemen and Gentlemen receive their Education? *Queen Anne*, as I have been informed, was taught to read and speak gracefully by Mr *Betterton*; and methinks it would be no improper nor unprofitable Employment for an *Actor*, who had gained a Reputation for *speaking well*, to set up an Academy for teaching young Gentlemen to Read and Speak with Propriety and Grace. This Example, which I don't in the least doubt would meet with great Encouragement, might put others upon the like Design; and in Time furnish us with Masters in a Science, without which the best written Compositions, when read or spoken, lose all their Spirit and Grace, and appear languid and insipid.

it? *Soc.* Possibly my Mistrefs will be offended, if I make her Discourses publick. *Mem.* Not in the least, I dare say: However, *Socrates*, oblige me so far as to speak what *Aspasia* said, if you please, or any thing else, no matter what, so you will but speak. *Soc.* But you will laugh at me perhaps for playing the Fool in my Old age. *Men.* Not at all, *Socrates*: Speak, I intreat you, by all means. *Soc.* Well: I find I must gratify you, though you should even order me to fall a dancing. Besides, we are alone. Attend then. She came directly to the Point, and began her Oration, as I remember, with mentioning the Deceased, in the following Manner:

WHATEVER was requisite to be *done* for these brave Men, hath been performed on our Part: They have received their *Dues*, and are now proceeding on their *fated Journey*, dismissed with these publick Honours paid to them as well by the whole State, as by their own Families and Friends. But to make these Honours complete, something remains to be *said*; which not only the Laws require to be rendered to them, but Reason also. For an eloquent and well spoken Oration impresses on the Mind of the Audience a lasting Admiration of great and virtuous Actions. But the present Occasion demands an Oration of a particular kind; an Oration that may
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at one and the same time do Justice to the Dead ; animate and soothe the Living ; excite the Children and Brethren of the Deceased to an Imitation of their Virtues ; and administer Comfort to the Fathers and the Mothers, and whoever of their remoter Ancestors are yet alive. And where shall we find an Orator equal to such a Task ? or with what Topic shall we begin the Praises of those brave Men, who when living made their Friends happy by their Virtues, and with their Deaths purchased the Safety of all, who now survive ?

As They were in some measure indebted to Nature for their Virtue, it is in my Opinion necessary to begin their Panegyrick with an Account of their Original : For that they were virtuous was owing to their being sprung of virtuous Ancestors. Let us then celebrate, in the first Place, their noble Birth ; in the second, their Nurture and Education ; and afterwards, by exhibiting their Actions to view, make it appear that *these* also were virtuous, and such as corresponded to all those Advantages. First then, as to the Nobility of their Descent : They are sprung from a Race of Ancestors, not adventitious, not transplanted from I know not where, but *Natives of the Soil*, dwelling and living really and properly in their own Country ; nursed, not like other Nations, by a

Step-mother, but a Parent, the very Land which they inhabited; in which they now lye buried; the Soil which bred, which nursed them, and which, as her own, has again received them into her Bosom. It is highly reasonable therefore to bestow some Encomiums on this Mother; and the rather, because the Nobility of these her Children will at the same Time, and in the same Proportion, be illustrated and adorned. This Country indeed deserves to be celebrated by all Mankind, not only by us her Children, and that upon many accounts; but principally because she is a Favourite of Heaven, of which the Rivalry of the Gods, who contended for her, and the Decision that followed thereupon, is a clear Evidence. And how can any Mortal reasonably pretend to refuse Praise to that Country, which the Gods have vouchsafed to honour? Another Topick of Panegyrick is this, That at the very Time when the Earth bred and produced Animals of all kinds both wild and tame, This Country of ours preserved her Purity; refused to bring forth savage Beasts; and among all Animals chose to produce Man only, who surpasses the rest in Understanding; and who alone hath instituted Laws for the Observation of Justice, and the Worship of the Gods. To confirm what I here advance, that this Earth is the genuine Parent
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of our Forefathers, I muſt obſerve, that every Thing that brings forth is provided with Nouriſhment for what it has produced ; and that a Woman is proved to be really and in fact a Mother, from her being ſupplied with native Fountains of Nouriſhment for the Suſtenance of the Child. The like ſubſtantial Evidence of her having brought forth Man, hath this our Country and Mother ; for ſhe alone at the ſame time, and ſhe firſt produced the uſeful Grain of Wheat and Barley, the proper and the beſt Food of Man ; ſo that it is evident ſhe was the Parent of this Species of Animals ; and to her theſe Proofs hold more ſtrongly than to a Woman. For this great Mother did not moſt certainly in breeding and producing copy after her Daughters, but They after her : Neither did ſhe grudge the World theſe her Fruits, but generously diſpenſed them to other Nations. For her Children ſhe in the next place brought forth the Olive, the Support of Toil ; and after ſhe had thus nourished and reared them up to Manhood, ſhe brought them Deities for their Governours and Inſtructors ; whoſe Names it is unneceſſary to mention in this Place. We all know who furniſhed us with the Neceſſaries and Securities of Life ; who inſtructed us in the Arts requiſite for our daily Support ; who gave us, and who taught us the

use of Arms, for the Defence of our Country. Our Ancestors thus born, and thus brought up, framed a Government, of which it may not be improper to speak a few Words. For Government is the Nurse of Men; a good one, of virtuous Men, a bad one, of wicked Men. That those who went before us were educated under a good Government, is necessary to shew; for indeed it was owing to the Advantage of being bred under a good Government that both they and their Descendants, the Fathers of the Deceased, became virtuous. The Form of Government then was, as it now is, an [1] *Aristocracy*: Under this Form of Government we still live, and for the most part have done so from that Time to this. Let others call it a *Democracy*, or by what Name they please: It is in truth an *Aristocracy* founded on the Good-will of the People. We have always had Magistrates invested with kingly Power, some of whom were hereditary, others elective: but the People were generally the most powerful, and

[1] *Aristocracy*, in its primary und original Signification, imports a Government lodged in the Hands of the *best*, i. e. the most virtuous Men, though, in the Sense now commonly put upon it, it denotes a Government lodged in the Nobility. Thus we say of the State of *Venice*, that it is an *Aristocracy*. *Plato* here takes it in the first Sense; how properly I will not determine.

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they always bestowed the Authority and Power of the State upon those, whom they judged most worthy. No Man was excluded for the Meanness, the Obscurity, or the Poverty of his Family ; nor advanced for the contrary Qualifications of his Ancestors, as is practised in other States. Their Choice was limited to one Point. Whoever was esteemed to be wise and good, he had the Authority, and he the Power. The Cause of this equal Government among us, was the Equality of our Original. For other States are composed of Men of every Country, and of different Extractions ; whence their Governments are unequal ; *Tyrannies* or *Oligarchies* ; in which one Part of the People look upon the other as their Slaves, and They upon Them as their Masters. But we, who are all Brethren, born of one and the same Parent, disdain to be the Slaves or the Lords of one another. On the contrary, the natural Equality of our Births compelled us to seek after a legal Equality in our Government ; and forbade us to yield any Subjection among ourselves, excepting only to the Wise and Virtuous. Hence it came to pass that all our Ancestors, the Fathers of the Deceased, and they themselves, being thus nobly born, thus nursed up in Liberty, exhibited in all their Conduct, as well private as publick, a number of great and glorious Actions

Actions for the Service of Mankind ; thinking it their Duty as well to protect *Grecians* against *Grecians*, as to maintain the general Liberty of *Greece* against all foreign Invaders. How they repelled the Invasions of *Eumolpus*, of the *Amazons*, and of other Enemies before them, and in what manner they defended the *Argives* against the *Thebans*, and the *Heraclides* against the *Argives* ; the Time will not permit me fully to relate : besides, their Virtues having been finely celebrated by the Poets in their melodious Songs, the World hath already been made acquainted with them ; so that we should but disgrace ourselves in attempting the same Subjects in simple Prose. For these Reasons, therefore, I think proper to pass over these Matters. Justice hath been done to their Merits. But I think myself obliged to recall the Memory of those Exploits, which, worthy as they were, the Poets have not thought worthy of their Notice, and which are now almost buried in Oblivion ; that by setting forth the Praises of the great Men who performed them, I may woo the Poets to admit them into their Songs and Verses. The chief of these are the Actions of our Forefathers, the Children of this Soil, who held the Hands of those Lords of *Asia*, the *Persians*, when they attempted to enslave *Europe* ; whose Virtue therefore in the first place deserves

serves to be commemorated, and to be praised. To give their Merits its proper Lustre, we ought to take a View of it in that Period of Time, when all *Asia* was in Subjection to the third King of the *Persian* Race. The first of these was *Cyrus*, who by his own great Abilities freed his Countrymen, the *Persians*, enslaved the *Medes* his Masters, and brought under his Dominion the rest of *Asia*, as far as *Ægypt*. His Son subdued *Ægypt*, and as much of *Libya* as was accessible, by his Arms. *Darius*, the third King, extended the Limits of his Empire by his Land Forces as far as *Scythia*, and by his Fleets made himself Master of the Sea, and of the Islands; inso-much that no one durst stand up in Opposition to him. The very Opinions of all Mankind seem to have been subdued: so many, so powerfull, and so warlike were the Nations, which were bowed to the *Persian* Yoke. This *Darius* accusing us and the *Eretrians* of an Attempt upon *Sardis*, made that a Pretence for sending an Army of Five hundred thousand Men on board his Ships and Transports, and a Fleet of Three hundred Sail, over which he appointed *Datis* to be General, ordering him, under the Forfeiture of his Head, to bring back the *Eretrians* and *Athenians* captive. *Datis* sailing to *Eretria*, against a Nation, which of all the *Greeks* had at that

time

time the greatest Reputation for Valour, and was moreover very numerous, subdued them in three Days ; and that none of them might escape, he took this Method of searching the whole Island. Causing his Troops to march to the utmost Limits of the *Eretrians*, and extend themselves from Sea to Sea, he ordered them to join their Hands, and sweep the Country, that he might be able to assure the King, that not a Man had escaped him. With the like Design he passed from *Eretria* to *Marathon*, imagining he had nothing to do but to clap the same inevitable Yoke upon the Neck of the *Athenians*, and carry them off as he had done the *Eretrians*. During these Transactions, part of which were accomplished, and part yet in Execution, no Nation of the *Greeks* offered to stir to the Assistance either of the *Eretrians* or the *Athenians*, except the *Lacedæmonians*, and they did not join us till the Day after the Battle. The rest, struck with Terror, and preferring their present Safety, kept quiet at home. By this one may form a Judgment of the Bravery of those Men, who received the Attack of the Barbarians at *Marathon*, chastised the Arrogance of *Asia*, and were the first who erected Trophies for their Victory over a barbarous Enemy ; by their Example instructing others that the Power of *Persia* was not invincible ;

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and that Wealth and Numbers must yield to virtue. I call these Men, therefore, not only our *natural*, but our *civil* Fathers also, the Fathers of our Liberty, and of the Liberty of all *Europe*. For the *Grecians*, surveying this Day's Work, were taught by their *Marathonian* Masters to hazard new Battles in the Defence of their Country. Upon these, therefore, ought we in reason to bestow the first Palm, and give the second to them, who afterwards fought and conquered in the Sea-fights of *Salamis* and *Artemisium*. He, who would go over the several Actions of these brave Men, enumerate the many Difficulties they had to struggle with, both by Sea and Land, and tell how they surmounted them, would have much to say. But I shall only mention what appears to me to be the greatest Exploit after that of *Marathon*. For by that Victory the *Greeks* had been only taught, that upon Land it was possible for a small Number of *Grecians* to overcome a Multitude of Barbarians; but that at Sea they were able to effect the same thing, was not yet evident. The *Persians* had the Reputation of being invincible at Sea, by the Superiority of their Numbers, their Riches, their naval Skill, and Strength. Now what is most praiseworthy in those brave Men, who signalized themselves at Sea, is, that they did thereby, as it were,
loosen

loosen these Bands of Terroure, which had held the *Grecians* so fast bound, and caused them no longer to stand in awe of Numbers, whether of Ships or Men. From these two Actions, this of *Salamis*, and that of *Marathon*, all *Greece* was instructed and accustomed not to be afraid of the Barbarians, either by Land or Sea. The third great Exploit for the Deliverance of *Greece*, as well in Order as in Degree, is the Action of *Plataea*; in the Glory of which the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* had an equal Part. This great, this arduous Enterprize, was atchieved, I say, by these two Nations, and for this their Merit are they now celebrated by us, and will be by our Posterity to the latest Times. After this, many States of *Greece* still sided with the Barbarian, and the King himself was reported to have a Design of invading *Greece* once more. It would then be highly unjust not to take notice of those also, who completed the Work of their Forefathers, and put the finishing Hand to our Deliverance, by scouring the Seas of every thing that had the Name of Barbarian, and driving them within their own Limits. These were they, who were engaged in the Naval Fight at *Eurymedon*, in the Expeditions to *Cyprus*, to *Ægypt*, and many other Places. These ought we, therefore, to commemorate, and to acknowledge our Obligations

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gation to them, for having taught the *Great King* to fear; to attend to his own Safety, and not to be plotting the Overthrow of *Greece*. This War against the Barbarians did our Commonwealth, with her own Forces only, draw out to the very Dregs, for her own Security, and that of her Allies. Peace being made, and *Athens* being now in her highest Glory, there fell upon her, what is most commonly the Lot of the Successfull, first a Rivalry in some other States of *Greece*, and from thence Jealousy, which drew her, though unwilling, into a War against *Græcians*: upon the breaking out of which War, the *Athenians* fought a Battle with the *Lacedæmonians* at *Tanagra* for the Liberties of *Bæotia*. Though the Issue of this Battle was doubtfull, yet the following Action proved decisive: For some of the Allies of the *Bæotians* having deserted those, to whose Assistance they came, our Countrymen having on the third Day after obtained a Victory, we recovered to a Sense of their Duty those, who without Reason had fallen off from it. These brave Men having fought against *Grecians* for the Liberties of *Grecians*, and delivered those, whose Cause they had undertaken to defend, were the first after the *Persian War*, upon whom the Commonwealth conferred the Honour of being
buried.

buried in this publick [2] Cœmety. After this the War became more general; all *Greece* fell upon us at once, and ravaged our Country, ill requiting the Favours they had received from this City. But the *Athenians* having defeated their Enemies in a Sea-fight, and taken Prisoners in the Island of *Sphaſteria* their Leaders the *Lacedæmonians*, when it was in their Power to have put them to Death, spared their Lives, forgave them, and made Peace with them; thinking, that although in a War against Barbarians nothing less than their utter Ruin should be aimed at, yet that in a War between *Grecians* and *Grecians*, the Contest should be carried on as far as Victory indeed, but that the common Interest of *Greece* ought not to be sacrificed to any particular Resentment. Are not these brave Men, therefore, worthy to be praised, who were engaged in that War, and who now lie buried here? They, who made it appear, if indeed it was a Question whether in the

[2] Cœmety.] The Greek Word is μνήματα, *Monument*; but as it appears from *Pausanias*, that there were many different Monuments, each with its particular Inscription, erected in the *Ceramicus*, the Place destined for these publick Interments, I thought it better to translate it by the Word *Cœmety*, which signifies a Place of Burial, lest the Reader should imagine that all the *Athenians* who fell in Battle were buried in one and the same Sepulchre.

first

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first *Persian* War another Nation was not at least equal to the *Athenians*: they, I say, who made it appear that such a Question was entirely groundless. These Men made the Superiority of the *Athenians* sufficiently evident, by their coming off victorious in that War, in which all *Greece* took part against them, and working in Battle, with the Forces of *Athens* only, those who had set themselves up for the Chiefs of *Greece*, though they could pretend to no more than an equal Share with the *Athenians* in their Victories gained over the Barbarians. After the Peace arose another horrible and unexpected War, in which many brave Men fell, who here lie buried. Some of these erected many Trophies in *Sicily*; to which Country they had sailed in order to protect the *Leontines* in their Liberties, whom we were bound to assist by solemn Treaties. But before they could arrive, the Passage being long, the *Leontines* were reduced to Extremities, and disabled from yielding them any Assistance; for which Reason they gave over the Attempt, and were unfortunate; though it must be owned, their Enemies, those against whom they came to fight, behaved with such Virtue and Moderation, that they deserved far greater Praise than some, who were only Confederates in that War. Others signalized themselves in the *Helle-*

spont, by taking all the Ships of the Enemy in one Day, and by several other Victories. I styled this a horrible and unexpected War, because some of the States of *Greece* carried their Enmity to this City so far, as to presume to send an Embassy to the King of *Persia*, *their* and *our* most inveterate Enemy, to invite, upon their own particular Views, that Barbarian into *Greece*, whom, for the common Cause, they had formerly joined with us to drive out of *Europe*; thus uniting in a League against *Athens* all the *Greeks* and Barbarians. Upon which Occasion the Strength and Valour of this State became most conspicuous. For our Enemies looking upon *Athens* as already vanquished, and having seized some of our Ships at *Mitylene*, These gallant Men (for so they confessedly were) whom we now commemorate, **went to their Relief** with sixty Sail, and boarding the Enemy's Ships, gained a Victory over them, and delivered their own Allies, but met with a Lot unworthy of their Valour; for their Bodies were not, as they ought to have been, taken up out of the Sea, but had their Burial there. And surely they deserve to be remembered ever with Praise and Honour. For by their Valour we came off victorious, not in that Engagement only, but throughout the whole War; and through their Bravery was it that our
Common-

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Commonwealth gained the Reputation of being invincible, though attacked by the united Forces of all Mankind. Neither hath this Reputation been falsified in Fact. For we were conquered, not by our Enemies, but by our own Dissensions. As to Them we remain invincible even to this Day. But we have vanquished, have subdued ourselves. After these Transactions a Calm ensuing and a Peace betwixt us and all other Nations, a Civil War broke out, which was carried on in such a Manner, that, if by the Decrees of Heaven Dissensions must necessarily arise, a Man would pray that his Country might be so and no otherwise distempered. For how easily, how much like Friends and Fellow-Citizens, did the People of the *Piræus*, and those of the City, run into a Reconciliation with each other! and with how much Moderation did they lay aside their Hostility against those of *Eleusis*, contrary to the Expectations of all *Greece*! All which is to be ascribed to no other Cause than their Consanguinity, the natural Basis of firm and real Friendship. We ought not therefore to pass over in Silence even Those, who in this War were slain on either Side, but as far as in us lies endeavour to reconcile them to each other; praying and sacrificing upon these Occasions to those Dæmons who have the Command

and Direction over them, in as much as we ourselves are reconciled. For they did not attack each other out of Hatred and Malice, but from the Malignity of their Fortune. Of this we ourselves are living Evidences; who being of the same common Original with them, have forgiven each other, both what we did, and what we suffered. After this the City had Rest, and enjoyed a profound Peace, easily pardoning the Barbarians, who having been ill enough treated by this State, returned it but as they ought. But she could not help resenting the Behaviour of the *Greeks*, when she called to mind the Benefits they had received, and the Retribution they made, by uniting with the Barbarians, depriving us of our Ships, to which they formerly owed their own Deliverance, and pulling down our Walls, in Return for our having saved theirs from Ruin. The City then having taken the Resolution not to give for the future any Assistance to the *Greeks*, whether oppressed by *Grecians* or Barbarians, remained quiet: upon which the *Lacedæmonians*, imagining that *Athens*, the Patroness of Liberty, was fallen; and that now was the Time for them to pursue their proper Business, the enslaving of others, set immediately about it. I need not enlarge upon what followed. Those Transactions are neither of an ancient Date, nor perplexed

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perplexed by the Variety of Actors. We all know in what a Consternation the chief States of *Greece*, the *Argives*, the *Bæotians*, the *Corinthians*, applied to this City for Succour; and what was the greatest Miracle of all, that the King of *Persia* himself was reduced to such a strait, as to have no hopes of Safety from any other Quarter, than from this very City, whose Destruction he had so eagerly pursued. And, indeed, if *Athens* can be justly accused of any thing, it is of having been always too compassionate, too much inclined to salve the Wounds of the Afflicted. For at this very Time she was not able to persevere, and to keep to her Resolution, of not assisting Those in the Preservation of their Liberties, who had maliciously and designedly injured her. She yielded, she assisted them, and by that Assistance rescued them from Slavery, and gave them their Liberty, till they should think fit to enslave themselves again. She had not indeed the Assurance to act so preposterous a part as to send the King of *Persia* any Succours; she bore too great a Reverence to the Trophies of *Marathon*, of *Salamis*, and *Platæa*: yet by conniving at the Assistance given him by Fugitives, and such as voluntarily entered into his Service, she was confessedly the Cause of his Preservation. At this Time she repaired her Fortifications,

cations, and her Fleets, and prepared again for War; finding herself under the necessity of entering into one with the *Lacedæmonians*, for the Protection of the *Parians*. The King of *Persia*, on his Part, as soon as he saw the *Lacedæmonians* had given over all Thoughts of carrying on a War by Sea, took Umbrage at the *Athenians*; and resolving to break the Peace, demanded those *Grecian* States, which were upon the Continent [of *Asia*] to be delivered up to him (those very States which the *Lacedæmonians* had formerly consented to give up) as the Condition of his continuing his Amity with us and our Allies. This Demand he did not imagine would be complied with, and he made it only that he might, upon its being rejected, have a fair Pretence for breaking the Treaty. But he was mistaken as to some of the Allies; for the *Corinthians*, the *Argives*, and the *Bæotians* determined to comply with his Demand, and even entered into a Treaty with him, which they confirmed by Oath, to give up the *Greeks* upon the Continent of *Asia*, provided he would furnish them with Money. But we, and we alone, had not the Assurance to abandon those States, much less to swear to such a Treaty. That the City of *Athens* is so spirited, so frank, so constant, so hearty in the common Cause, and as it were by Nature so averse

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to the Barbarian, must be ascribed to her being wholly *Greek*, without any mixture of Foreign Alloy. For none of your foreign Heroes, *Pelops*, *Cadmus*, *Ægyptus*, *Danaus*, and many others, who, though living under *Grecian* Laws, were Barbarians by Extraction; none of these, I say, are of the Number of our Citizens. We are genuine *Greeks*, no Half-Barbarians. Hence proceeds the genuine and unadulterated Enmity of *Athens* to all Barbarians. Wherefore we were once more left alone for refusing to do an Action so infamous, and so impious as that of delivering up *Grecians* into the Hands of *Persians*. But being restored to what we had been deprived of in the former War, by the Assistance of Heaven we prosecuted this with more Success. For becoming once again Masters of a Fleet, having rebuilt our Walls, and recovered our Colonies, we were soon freed from a War, which our Enemies were very glad to get rid of. In this War we lost indeed many gallant Men, some at *Corinth*, by the Disadvantage of their Situation, others at *Lechæum* by Treachery. Nor were they less gallant, who saved the King of *Persia*, and drove the *Lacedæmonians* out of the Seas. These are the Men I would recall to your Remembrance, and in honouring and praising such as These it becomes all of you to join.

Such were the Exploits of those brave Men who here lie buried; such were the Exploits of those others also who, though unhappily deprived of Burial, died like them in the Service of their Country; Exploits, many and great indeed, as hath been related; but more and still greater yet remain untold; to enumerate all which many whole Days and Nights would scarce suffice. It is the Duty therefore of all and of every particular Man to bear these Things in mind, and, as in Battle, to exhort the Children of such Fathers not to quit the Rank, in which their Ancestors have placed them, by a base and cowardly Retreat. Accordingly, I myself, O ye Sons of virtuous Men, do now exhort you, and as long as I shall remain among you will never cease reminding and exhorting you to use your utmost Endeavours to surpass them in Virtue. But upon this Occasion it is my Duty to tell you what your Fathers, when they were going to expose their Lives for their Country, commanded us to say to those, whom they left behind in case any Accident should befall themselves. I will repeat to you what I heard from their own Mouths, and what, if I may judge from the Discourse they then held, they would now gladly say to you themselves, were it in their Power. Imagine therefore you hear them speaking. These were their

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their Words : " O Children ! That ye are the Sons
" of virtuous Fathers is evident from our present
" Circumstances. For having it in our Option to
" live with Dishonour, we have generously made it
" our Choice to die, rather than bring ourselves and
" our Posterity into Disgrace, and reflect Infamy
" back upon our Parents and Forefathers; per-
" suaded as we were, that the Life of one who dis-
" honours his Family, is not worth living, and that
" such a Man can have no Friend either here upon
" Earth among Mankind, or among the Gods here-
" after in the Realms below. It behoves you there-
" fore to bear these our Words in Remembrance,
" to the end that all your Undertakings may be ac-
" companied with Virtue; assuring yourselves, that
" without Virtue every Acquisition, every Pursuit is
" base and infamous. For Wealth can add no Dig-
" nity to an unmanly Mind. The Riches of such
" an one are for others, not for himself. Neither
" are Beauty and Strength of Body, when joined
" with Baseness and Cowardice, to be deemed or-
" namental, but disgracefull rather: since if they
" make a Man more conspicuous, they at the same
" time make the Baseness of his Soul conspicuous
" also. Wisdom in like manner separated from
" Justice, and the rest of the Virtues, is not Wis-
" dom,

dom, but Cunning. Wherefore in the first place,
and in the last, and throughout the whole Course
of your Lives, it is incumbent upon you to labour
with all your Faculties to surpass us and your Pro-
genitors in Glory. Otherwise be assured, that in
this Contest of Virtue, if we remain victorious, the
Victory will cover us with Confusion, which on
the contrary, if obtained by you, will make us
happy. The most effectual way for you to sur-
pass us, and obtain this Victory, is so to order
your Conduct, as neither to abuse nor waste the
Glory left you by your Ancestors. For can any
thing be more ignominious for a Man, who would
be thought something, than to receive Honour not
from his own Merit, but from the Reputation of
his Forefathers? Hereditary Honour is indeed a
noble and splendid Patrimony. But to enjoy a
fair Estate either in Fame or Money, and for want
of a proper Supply of Wealth and Glory of your
own, not to be able to transmit it to your Poste-
rity, is infamous and unmanly. If you endeavour
after these Things, you will be welcome to us and
we to you, whenever your respective Fates shall
conduct you to us in the World below: but if
you disregard them and become profligate, not one
of us shall be willing to receive you. Thus much
be

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“ be spoken to our Children: But to our Fathers
“ and our Mothers, if any of them should survive
“ us, and it should be thought necessary to admi-
“ nister Comfort to them, say, that it is their Duty
“ patiently to bear Misfortunes, whenever they hap-
“ pen, and not give themselves up to Grief: other-
“ wise they will never be without Sorrow; for the
“ ordinary Occurrences of Life will afford sufficient
“ Matter for Affliction. They should seek to heal
“ and mitigate their Troubles in the Remembrance,
“ that, as to the most considerable Point, the Gods
“ have heard their Prayers. For they did not pray
“ that their Children might be immortal, but virtu-
“ ous and renowned. And This, the greatest of all
“ Blessings, they have obtained. It is not easy for
“ mortal Man to have every thing fall out according
“ to his Wishes in this Life. Besides, by bearing
“ their Misfortunes with Resolution and Fortitude,
“ they will gain the Opinion of being the genuine
“ Parents of magnanimous Children, and of being
“ themselves Men of Courage and Magnanimity;
“ whereas by sinking under their Sorrows, they will
“ raise a Suspicion of their not being our Fathers, or
“ Those who shall praise us will be thought to have
“ most grossly flattered us; neither of which Things
“ ought to come to pass. They themselves rather
“ should

“ should bear chief Testimony to our Praise, shewing by their Actions that they are indeed Men, and the Fathers of Men. The old Proverb, *Not too much of any thing*, seems to be well said, and in fact it is so. For He, who hath within himself all that is necessary to Happiness, or near the matter, and who doth not so depend upon other Men, as to have himself and his Affairs in a perpetual Fluctuation, according to their good or ill Conduct, He, I say, is best provided for this Life; He is moderate, He is prudent, He is a Man; and He upon all Occasions, whether he obtains or loses an Estate or Children, will pay the greatest Regard to this Proverb: for placing all his Confidence in himself, he will neither be too much elevated with Joy, nor depressed with Sorrow. Such Men we should think worthy to be our Fathers; such we wish them to be, and such we affirm they are; such likewise are we now proved to be, by neither murmuring nor trembling at Death, though we were to meet it this Instant. And this same State of Mind do we recommend to our Fathers and our Mothers; intreating them to make use of such Sentiments as these through the remaining Part of their Lives; and to be persuaded, that they will do us the greatest Pleasure, by not weeping
“ and

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“and lamenting for us; that if the Dead have any
“Knowledge of what passes among the Living,
“their afflicting themselves, and bearing their Mis-
“fortunes heavily, will be very unacceptable to us;
“whereas, on the contrary, their bearing their Af-
“flictions lightly, and with Moderation, will be most
“pleasing. Our Lives and Actions are now going
“to have an End; but such an End, as among Men
“is deemed most glorious, which therefore ought
“rather to be graced with Honour, than sullied with
“Lamentations. By taking Care of our Wives
“and Children; by educating the latter, and turn-
“ing themselves and their Minds wholly to such-
“like Employments, they will the more readily
“forget their Misfortunes; and lead a Life more
“exemplary, more agreeable to Reason, and more
“acceptable to us. Let this suffice to be spoken on
“our Part to our Relations and Friends. To the
“Commonwealth we recommend the Care of our
“Parents and Children; beseeching Her to give
“These an honourable Education, and to cherish
“Those in their Old age, in a manner worthy of
“them: But we are sensible that, without this Re-
“commendation, all proper Care will be taken of
“Both.”

These Things, O ye Children, and ye Parents of
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the Deceased, have they given me in charge to say to you on their Part; and I have most willingly, and to the best of my Power, executed their Commands. On my own part, and for their Sakes I beseech you, ye Sons! to imitate your Fathers; You, Fathers, to take Comfort for the Loss of these your Sons; assuring yourselves, that both in our publick and in our private Capacities, we will take Care of you, and cherish your Old age, as the respective Duties and Relations of every one of us may require. Ye yourselves well know what Provisions the Commonwealth hath made; that by express Laws she hath ordered Care to be taken of the Children and Parents of Those, who die in Battle; and hath given it in Charge to the chief Magistrate, to take Them, above all others, into his particular Protection; that the Latter may be guarded from all Injuries, and the Former not be sensible of their Orphan State, nor feel the want of a Father; whose Place the Commonwealth supplies, by assisting in the Care of their Education while they are Children, and when they are grown up to Manhood, dismissing them to their several Vocations with an honourable Present of a complete Suit of Armour. And this she does, not only with a View of intimating to them, and reminding them of the Occupations of their Fathers, by presenting

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ing them with those Implements of Valour, which their Fathers had so gloriously employed; but also that being arrived to the full Strength, and furnished with the Armour of a Man, when they first go to take Possession of their Household Gods, they may set out with a good Omen. Moreover, she fails not from time to time to pay these anniversary Honours to the Deceased; taking upon her to perform in general with regard to them, whatever is due to each from their respective Relations; and to complete all, by exhibiting Games of different Kinds, Equestrian and Gymnastick, Musical and Poetical, she effectually supplies the Office of Sons and Heirs to Fathers; of Fathers to Sons; and that of Guardians and Protectors to their Parents and Kindred: discharging at all Times all and every Part of the Duties that belong to all. Learn, therefore, by reflecting upon these things, to bear your Afflictions with more Patience; for by so doing you will act the most friendly part as well to the Dead as to the Living; and be better able to give and receive Comfort, to cherish and assist each other. And now having jointly paid the Tribute of your Sorrow to the Deceased, as the Law directs, you may all depart.

This

[1] This, *Menexenus*, is the Speech of *Aspasia* the *Milesian*.

Men. In truth, *Socrates*, *Aspasia* is a happy Woman, if she can indeed make such Speeches as these.

Soc. If you doubt of it, come along with me, and you shall hear her herself.

Men. I have been often in her Company, and very well know what she is.

Soc. Well then, don't you admire her, and are you not obliged to her for this Oration?

Men. I am greatly obliged, *Socrates*, either to her or to him, whoever was the Author of it, but more particularly to you, who have repeated it to me.

Soc. Very well: but remember not to speak of it, that I may hereafter be at liberty to communicate to you some more of her fine political Discourses.

Men. You may depend upon my not betraying you. Be you only as good as your Word.

Soc. I will not fail.

[1] This Oration, which *Plato* (either from undervaluing his own Performance, or with a View of abating the too great Esteem which the *Athenians* entertained for their Orators, whom he rallies very finely in the Beginning of the Dialogue) hath here given to *Aspasia* the *Milesian*, was however held in such Estimation at *Athens*, that, as *Tully* informs us, it was ordered to be repeated every Year, on the Day appointed for the Commemoration of those who had been slain in Battle: A plain Evidence of the Preference which the *Athenians* gave to this Oration of *Plato* before all others spoken on the same Occasion, though some of them were composed by their greatest Orators, as *Pericles*, *Lyfias*, *Hyperides*, and *Demosthenes*. Those of *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes* are not now extant. That ascribed to *Pericles* by *Thucydides*, and preserved in his History, was most probably written by that Historian. *Lyfias*'s Oration is yet remaining. We have therefore but one genuine Oration of any of these Orators, upon this Subject, with which we can compare this Oration of *Plato*; to whom I shall not scruple to give the Advantage upon the Comparison. For the rest, we have the Decision of the *Athenians*, who were acquainted with all the others, in favour of *Plato*; and in their Judgment, I think, we may safely acquiesce.

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